

REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS

ON THE

ANCIENT SITES OF PATALIPUTRA
(PATNA-BANKIPUR.)

1896-97.

P. C. MUKHARJI.

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A REPORT

ON THE

EXCAVATIONS ON THE ANCIENT SITES OF PĀTALIPUTRA

(PATNA-BANKIPUR)

IN

1896-97.

ILLUSTRATED BY 58 PLATES.

By

BABU PURNA CHANDRA MUKHARJI,
Archæologist.

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*An Illustrated Report on the Excavations on the sites of Pataliputra
in 1896-97.*

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INTRODUCTION.

At the end of the last century, when Sir William Jones discovered rather wrongly the identity of Sandracottus with Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, the site of Palibothra was sought for in different directions. And, though some held that Patna might be the proper place, others attempted to find it elsewhere. D'Anville, for example, sought it at Allahabad; Major Rennel, at Kanouj; Wilford, at some distance north of Rajmahal; while Franklin, in a special pamphlet, endeavoured to show that it was at Bhagalpur, as if Champā and Pataliputra were one. They did not take notice of the local tradition of the Brahmanas and the Jainas, which is not yet forgotten. Even though the Pandits informed Dr. Buchanan, in about 1810 (Martin's "Eastern India," volume I), Major Rennel inclined to the opinion that it was on the old junction of the Kosi with the Ganges, near Rajmahal, as at first proposed by Major Wilford in "Asiatic Researches," volume V. But the solution of the question was found so unsatisfactory and uncertain that the attempt of identification was given up till 1872, when General Cunningham deputed Mr. Beglar to trace the city and the Son.

As to the ancient course of the river Son, Ravenshaw had proved it to be the Erranoboas (*Asiatic Society's Journal*, Volume XIV, page 137), and Lieutenant Maxwell traced its ancient bed from Saidabad to just west of Bankipore, where it joined the Ganges. Rennel also found that the Son flowed further eastward and south of Patna, joining the Ganges near Fatua. Mr. Beglar, however, assumed that Erranoboas (Sanskrit, *Hiranyavāha*) was the Gandaki, and proved afresh that the Son joined the Ganges at Fatua. But he located the ancient city north of the present town, which was, he supposed, eaten away by the river, it having changed its course considerably southward long before the Muhammadan invasion.

In 1877-78, General Cunningham visited Patna, and, generally agreeing with Mr. Beglar, concluded that about half a mile of the breadth of the ancient city, which was originally one-and-a-half miles, "may have been swept away by the Ganges." But in identifying the chief monuments, mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, he grouped them too close to one another at the double village of Pahari.

In April 1892, Dr. Waddell reopened the question of the identification of the ancient monuments of Pataliputra, and criticising the perversion of the Chinese records by the General, wrote, in his pamphlet on the Classic Capital of Asoka, that "having lately had an opportunity of visiting Patna, I explored its neighbourhood and was surprised to find that not only has the site of Pataliputra remained practically unencroached by the Ganges, but that all the chief landmarks of Asoka's palaces, monasteries, and monuments remained so patent, that in the short space of one day I was able to identify most of them by taking Hiuen Tsiang's accounts as my guide." His results were very valuable, which would have been far better, had he consulted Fa Hian also.

On the publication of his monograph entitled "Asoka's Classic Capital," Government was induced to order excavations. The Trustees of the Indian Museum, where I was attached at the time, recommended that I should be put in charge. But shortly after, they changed their mind in favour of Dr. Führer of the Lucknow Museum, who, in 1895, and with a grant of Rs. 1,000, excavated the two *stupas* at Pahari without any successful results. Dr. Waddell thereupon wrote on 26th February 1896, that "I am sorry to find that Government has been so ill-advised as to have undertaken such destructive and costly excavations at a place which was the least likely place to yield useful results. It seems almost incredible that any one who had studied the descriptive accounts of the Chinese pilgrims, and who had visited the spot with my preliminary report in hand, as Mr. Führer admits having done, should yet entertain the idea that the Panch Pahari or Barā Pahari mound forms the débris of the Maurya palace, or could be other than the five Stupas, as identified by me..... These excavations, destructive as they have been, have quarried out hundreds of cubic yards of bricks and brick-débris, and have left a yawning chasm 40 feet deep, which is so dangerous to the public that the Magistrate proposes to fill it up again at a further cost of Rs. 75."

The Doctor therefore recommended further excavations by some competent agency, and Mr. Mills, the Inspector of works, consented to supervise. Rs. 2,000 was again sanctioned, and in March 1896 digging was commenced at Kumrahar, Bulandbagh, and Rampur. But though some interesting relics were obtained, and an important discovery was made at the last place, purely Public Works Department agency did not prove successful. So, on Mr. Mills asking Mr. Glass, the Secretary, for an expert, Government deputed me to the work on 7th December 1896. A further grant of Rs. 3,000 was asked for, of which Rs. 2,320 was sanctioned. Since Mr. Mills was shortly after sent on famine relief works, I at first followed the instructions given by Dr. Waddell, and accordingly commenced work at Kumrahar and its neighbourhood. After some trial diggings, I gave up Bulandbagh and Laskaribibi as not very promising.

In addition to the above-mentioned three places, Dr. Waddell wanted me to excavate the following places, namely, Jamunā dhib and the villages around, Bahādurpur, Rāmpur, Jogipurā, Sandalpur, Dargāh and Gunsār, the Jaina mound, the mounds on the north of the railway; Chhoti and Bari Pahari, Bhiknāpahari, the mounds at Gaggah, Tehri, and Maruganj ghāts, and the several sites of the ancient beam palisades of Palibothra. Of

these places, I worked at Jamunā dhih and Kumrahār and its neighbourhood, which yielded remains of brick structures and the fragments of a large Asoka pillar. And between Waris Ali Khan's tank and the railway, near Nawātola, I discovered a series of very important *ghāts*, presumably on the south bank of the ancient bed of the Son, about 15 feet below the present ground level. These works occupied my attention till the 10th of March, when I was deputed to the Terai of the Champaran district to search for Kusinagara, the lost site of the death of the Buddha. In the Terai I brought to light a number of ancient ruins, and it struck me as extremely probable that Kusinagara was at Lowriya, where I discovered that Nandangurh (General Cunningham's Navandgurh) represents the biggest brick *stupa* in India.

Returning to Bankipore on the 4th April, I renewed excavations at Kumrahār, Naorat-anpur, Bahādurpur, Rāmpur, Bhiknāpāhārī, and Lohānipur. At these places I discovered several remains of Maurya architecture and arts, which I followed up till the second week of June, when the rains stopped all my outdoor works. And, though I have succeeded in tracing the outhouses of the palace, and the pillar of Asoka at Kumrahār, and the Son *ghāts* at Nawātola, two other Maurya pillars with Buddhistic railings and other remains at Lohānipur, the wooden palisades with drain at several places, and brick buildings underneath the big mound of Bhiknāpāhārī, still many more sites remain to be probed into within and without the great city, in order to complete the results of excavations on a scientific basis.

In connection with the identification of the sites of Pataliputra, in which I find myself differing from Dr. Waddell, as explained elsewhere, I beg to submit that Nandangurh, which I propose to identify with the Parinirvana *stupa*; Chankigurh, the fort of Chanakya, Chandragupta's priest and minister, and other important sites visited by the Buddha and the Chinese pilgrims, need be excavated. For, without determining the positions of such places as Swetadwipa, the two *stupas* of Ananda on both sides of the Ganges, the value of the different sites of Pataliputra cannot be properly understood. Dr. Waddell while going on furlough, wrote me to say in April last that I should "stick close to Hiuen Tsiang's accounts. It is only the fort and its immediate surroundings that you should excavate.....I hope your excavations of Navandgurh may be sanctioned speedily, and that you may find really interesting and important remains." I should, in fact, study all Buddhistic places, by survey and excavations, taking Pataliputra and Vaisali as centres.

As to the results of my works already achieved as economically as I could, I beg to submit that important facts have been brought to light. (1) The first is that Pataliputra stood between 20 and 15 feet below the present level of the ground. (2) Some of the important and sacred places visited by the Chinese pilgrims have been identified with some degree of certainty. (3) The wooden palisade of Palibothra, visited by Megasthenes in about 310 B.C., has been traced to a certain extent. (4) Several peculiarities of the Maurya architecture, which does not show any Greek influence, have been noted. (5) The arts and sculpture of that age also yield some interesting features in the ornaments and beads; and an important fact, that glass was manufactured in those days, has agreeably surprised all visitors to my collection of ancient relics. (6) The ancient coins found in my excavations were of several types, ranging from the *Punch-marked* to the *Gupta*, and none later, which proves Mr. Smith's theory that Pataliputra ceased to be the capital of the Magadha empire after the conquest of Western India by Chandragupta II. And, in compiling the history of Pataliputra, written in connection with this report, I have made (7) the greatest of my discoveries, namely, that the Grecian Sandracottus was not Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, but Asoka the Great himself, who mentions Alexander and his generals, latterly independent kings, in his inscriptions. (8) The last point I beg to bring to prominent notice is that Pataliputra decayed in the fifth century A.D., which fact, with the like fate of Vaisali, disproves the theory of modern scholars that all productions of the so-called latter arts, as also inscriptions in ancient *Devā-nagari*, should be relegated to the tenth century A.D. or thereabouts.

I beg at the same time to submit that, though I have taken the utmost care in compiling the historical account, and consulted all available authorities on the subject, I am personally responsible for my opinions. Tentative theories possess a certain value, for, while temporarily explaining problems otherwise inexplicable, they ultimately lead to the truth, when the time comes for their being given up. General Cunningham's theory of Kasia, being the site of the Buddha's Parinirvana served its purpose in its time. And I would have most probably missed the discovery of the big *stupa* at Nandangurh, Lowriya, had I not formed the theory of this being the site of Kusinagara at Devādhih.

In conclusion, I beg to acknowledge with thanks the interest that Mr. Mills and Dr. Waddell took in advising and instructing me in my works of excavation. On their going away, the former on famine deputation and the latter on furlough, I have been very fortunate to find in Mr. Bourdillon, the Commissioner, a most sympathetic officer, who, though extremely busy with famine matters, spared time to see my works. It is due to his kind encouragement, that made me bold to make new explorations, bringing to light important monuments at Lohānipur, Bahādurpur, Kumrahār and Sewai tank. And I am especially grateful to him for the important lights that I have achieved in my historical investigations. I should also thank Mr. V. A. Smith* of Gorakhpur, an authority on ancient coins and antiquities, who was so good as to decipher the *Gupta* coins I found here, and to check the identifications that I, differing from Dr. Waddell, propose to make of the ancient sites at Pataliputra, and generally to help me in different ways.

P. C. MUKHERJI,

Archaeologist.

* Now Chief Secretary to the Government of N. W. P. and Oudh.

CHAPTER I.—HISTORY OF PATALIPUTRA.

BEFORE the rise of Pataliputra, there was a prehistoric town, by name Pushpapura or Kussumapura, literally the Town of Flowers, so called because the king's palace was said to have been ornamented with many flowers (cupolas or steeples?), about which a tradition is recorded by Hsien Tsiang in 637 A.D., who adds that at that primitive time the age of men were of "immeasurable length." Afterwards, when their lives dwindled to "a few thousand years" (which we

* Patana was probably another name of the town, which Mahavira once visited, its Raja, Samachandra, becoming his disciple.—*Jacobus Purushkita*, pages 14-15.

can safely read as about one hundred years) the town was called Pataliputra, the Pataligrama* of the Buddha's time, after a *Patali* tree, the trumpet-flower tree. The legend was that the spirit of this tree gave his daughter in marriage to a young man, once a monk, for whom he built a house in the suburb of Kusumapura. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton also records a local tradition that Sudarsan Raja, probably eighteenth in lineal descent from Manu, bestowed the town on his daughter, Patali, who cherished it like a son, and hence called it Pataliputra, and who dedicated a temple to Patana Devi, the presiding goddess of the town. The antiquity of this town, which, according to Diodoras, was founded by Hercules (Balarama, the brother of Krishna, 3102 B.C.?), must therefore be very great.

The rational explanation of the legend appears to be that a citizen from Kusumapura built, after cutting a neighbouring forest, a garden-house near a *Patali* tree, under which there was, as we generally see now, a rude representation of a sylvan deity, the archetype of Pataini Devi, where a fair was periodically celebrated by the inhabitants. In course of time, this suburb increased in importance, and a small village, Pataligrama, grew in association with the legend of the *Patali* tree; for the original builder of the garden-house was only remembered by the ignorant villagers as no other than the son or son-in-law of the spirit of the tree. Afterwards, when the rivers inundated and ruined Kusumapura, Pataliputra became its natural successor. The levels of the different localities in those days, as now, were not uniform; at one geological period, the Ganges raised its banks higher than the Punpun and the Son, and at another, the Punpun or the Son, or both together, attained greater eminence. The accumulation of the silt, owing to the annual inundations, occurred at one period at a certain area northward, at other times in other places southward. The ruins of Pataliputra are at present imbedded between 10 and 20 feet below the present level of the ground.

At the time of the Buddha, Pataligrama appears to have been a large village, ruled by a Brahman of great learning, an overseer of Magadha, who, as recorded in *Maha-Pari-Nirvana-Sutra*, used to observe the omens of the land, somewhat like the Meteorological Department of our day. The Ceylonese *Attakathā* states that the inhabitants of this village suffered great hardships and extortions by being turned out of their houses for a fortnight or a month at a time to accommodate the officers and messengers of the two kingdoms, Magadha and Videha, who were continually passing and repassing between Rajgriha and Vaisali. They had, therefore, to build a rest-house, called *Chaitya* in some accounts, in the middle of the village. The lay-devotees of the Buddha invited him, while he was going to Kusinagara to die, to this *chaitya* hall, of which the floor was strewn with sand and spread with seats. They also provided a water-pot and an oil-lamp. The Buddha with his alms, bowl and *chivara*, went there in the forenoon and washing his feet and facing the east, took his seat against the central post, which, as also the sand strewn the floor, shows the structure to be *kuteha* and wooden, and having gable roof. His disciples occupied the western portion of the *chaitya*, being seated at his back, while the lay-devotees of Pataligrama, fronting the saint, sat on the eastern half, when the Buddha gave a sermon on the fivefold gain of righteousness and the fivefold loss for want of it, far into the night. Dismissing his hearers, he then went to a *Sunyagāra*, an unoccupied room to meditate. At dawn he saw with his divine eyes the powerful genii, who lead the hearts of kings and ministers to build dwelling-places. At this

The first fort built by Ajātasatru.

time, Sunidha and Varshakara were, at the command of King Ajātasatru, constructing a fortified town (*Nagaram*), ultimately to conquer the aggressive Vrijies of Vaisali. The saint praised their skill, and prophesied that as far as Aryan people dwell, as far, as merchants travel, this would become the chief city, one hundred years after his Parinirvāna, being inhabited by high class people and having famous marts and mercantile emporiums; adding that three perils will menace it—fire, water, and internal dissensions. The two ministers invited him to dine at their house. The Buddha after attending the invitation, departed out of the new town by the western gate, which the ministers christened the Gotama gate. The Ganga was then overflowing; and his disciples began to seek for boats, rafts of wood and rafts of basket-work, when the saint miraculously crossed over the opposite bank with his 1,250 disciples and went to Kotigrama, on his way to Vaisali. The place where he crossed was since known as Gotama's ferry.

Three years after the death of the saint, Ajatasatru conquered Vaisali from this Nagara, which had been constructed for that purpose. According to the *Vishnu*, *Vayu* and other *Puranas*, it was Udayaswa, the son of Ajatasatru, who founded Pataliputra in 519 B.C., by which I understand that he completed the work commenced by his father. According to the Jaina chronicles, recorded in the *Parishista parvan*, Udayin, succeeding his father Kunika at Champa, which was founded by the latter, sought an auspicious site under a magnificent Patali tree and on the bank of the Ganges, where was traced the skull of a famous Jaina saint. The artisans of the

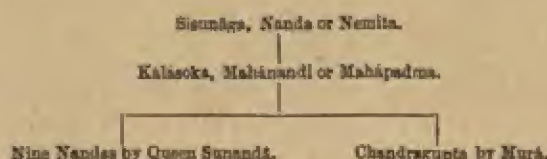
Udayaswa's buildings in 519 B.C.

king, arriving at the spot, went round the tree in an ever-widening circle, till they heard the cry of a jackal. They then dropped the measuring thread, and thus marking the limit of the new capital, raised a fine Jaina temple in the centre, as also many other stately buildings for the king, who was a devout Jaina. Here he was assassinated by the son of a king from Ujjain, who had been dethroned by Udayin.—*Jacobias Parisakha*, page 14. According to *Anguttara Nikaya*, King Munda, who killed his father Udayi, lived at Pataliputra. He was probably referred to in the Tibetan accounts (Dulva) as King Ajatasatru, who, obtaining one-half of the relics of Ananda, the third patriarch of the Buddhist Church, built a Chaitya in the city of Pataliputra in about 60 A.B. In 63 A.B. the nobles of Rajgriha or as some say of Pataliputra, put an end to the patricide dynasty, and elected Sisunaga of Benares as king.

Udayin leaving no heirs, as the Jainas say, the nobles elected Nanda as his successor and King in 60 A.V. (467 B.C.). This Nanda appears to be

Nanda dynasty.

Xandrames,—Chandramas, the King of Gangaridai, who was said by Diodorus Siculus to be a beautiful son by a barber. Now 467 B.C. falls in the reign of Sisunaga of the Buddhist chronicles, who is evidently the Nandivardhana of the *Puranas*, and Nemita of the Kuru race, the King of Champarna (Champaran of the present day), who is said by Taranath, the Tibetan historian, to have conquered Magadha from a Brahman king. According to the *Puranas*, the duration of the Nanda dynasty was 100 years, which figure we get by subtracting 380 B.C., the commencement of Chandragupta's reign, from 480 B.C., that of Sisunaga. The identity of Nanda with Nandi, Nemita, and Sisunaga therefore, becomes, evident. The genealogy of the Nandas appears to be as shown below from the *Puranas*:—



In 463 B.C., Kalāsoka succeeded his father and removed his capital to Pataliputra from Vaisāli, where Sisunaga had transferred the seat of his government from Rajgir, when he had come from Benares. Mahāpadma-Kalāsoka is recorded in the *Puranas* as a second Parasurama, who, being very valiant and avaricious, extirpated the Kshatriyas and brought

the whole earth under one umbrella. Adding an outer rampart to the rising city, he built a palace of stone, whose carvings and ornaments were of extraordinary skill, and about which the Chinese pilgrims record a tradition that it was erected by the genii. He is most probably the Chandāsoka, who constructed a large jail, known as "hell" or "earth-prison." *Asokavadāna*, a Nepalese manuscript on the life of Asoka, records that Bhikshuka Samudra, the son of a rich merchant, who was seized by his jailor, Chanda-Girika, converted the king to Buddhism. By the advice of another *Jati* (priest), named Yasas, he erected Chaityas at Kukutārāma, Ramagrama and other places, and invited from Uramunda hill (Govardhana?), near Mathura, Upagupta, the fourth Mahasthāvira of the Buddhist church, who pointed out to him all the sacred spots, visited by the Buddha, for the erection of stupas and directed him to go on pilgrimage to Mahābodhi and Kapilavastu. This pilgrimage is most probably referred to in the *Pali* inscription of the pillar lately discovered at the Lambini garden in the Nepal Terāi. From the fact that Upagupta, who was initiated in 100 A.B. (443 B.C.), was the spiritual guide of Asoka, I infer that all the monuments, constructed with the help of the genii (Yashkas), might be ascribed to Kālāsoka, and not to Dharmāsoka, whose *Guru* was Mogaliputra, in about 220 A.B. (323 B.C.), and who most probably raised the "man-made" structures, referred to by Hiuen Tsiang. Truly did Mr. Smith of Gorakhpur, a great authority on antiquarian matters, observe in his folio-sized pamphlet of 1896 on the "Remains near Kasia," that "that Emperor" (latter Asoka) "has obtained credit for more buildings than any sovereign could possibly have erected."

Vitāsoka, the brother of the king, being instigated by the Tirthikas, who were jealous of the Buddhists gaining royal patronage, raised a revolt to gain the throne. But he was ultimately defeated and imprisoned. Flying to the protection of Upagupta, he became a Buddhist monk under the guidance of the latter's disciple Gunakara, and retired to Gridhakuta mount for the purpose of uninterrupted meditation. Hearing that he had become a great saint, Kalāsoka invited his younger brother to reside at the capital, where he built for him a monastery in imitation of the hill, as recorded by the Chinese pilgrims, who name him Mahendra by mistake.

In the 20th year of his reign, and 443 B.C., the Vajjiputtakas of Vaisāli claimed ten indulgences. To check them the second Buddhist Council was held at Valikarama, Beluvagama, now Bakra, two years after 441 B.C.; and Kuyyosobhito of Pataliputra was the last priest to attend and complete the meeting of the 700 Theroces. But the Vajjiputtakas, who were excommunicated by the council, gained another party, thus increasing their number to 10,000, who, according to Aswaghosha, in his *Life of Buddhas*, held a great meeting, called the Mahasangiti, which composed the *Vinayas* and other *Sutras*, of their own. In this way five schools were formed—Mahāsangiti, Dharmagupta, Mahāsākas, Kāśyapiyas, and Sarvastivādas—each having its own president and distinctive doctrines. In 137 A.B. (406 B.C.) King Nanda Mahāpadma, being in great doubt as to which party was right, convened at Pataliputra all the Aryas to bring round the wicked to agree with the

good, and, according to the advice of some priests, aided with the majority, being the party of the Vrijies of Vaisali. But still for 63 years, the sectarians continued to quarrel among themselves, the five schools ultimately subdividing into eighteen. One hundred and two years later, the Sthaviras collected the orthodox doctrines.

Kalasoka reigned 28 years, and was succeeded by his nine sons, of whom the eldest was Bhadrasena. They all reigned one after the other for 33 years. The last brother was Pinjamukha, who had a Sudra concubine. She gave birth to Ugrasena, who, killing his father, usurped the throne of Pataliputra, under the title of Ugrasena-Nanda,* in 141 A.B. (401 B.C.). He with his eight brothers, commonly known as the nine Nandas, reigned for a period of 22 years. They were the followers of the Brahmanas, and gave them money and food in the palace. One of these Nandas was known as Chandramas (Xandrames), who had, according to Diodorus Seculus, an army of 20,000 horses, 200,000 foot, 2,000 chariots, and 4,000 elephants.

The name of the last Nanda was Dhana-Nanda, so called from his great riches, about whom Hiuen Tsiang records a tradition that he constructed five treasuries, subsequently identified as the five last Stupas erected with special magnificence by Asoka. Vararuchi was his court pandit. Among the Brahmanas, whom Dhana-Nanda used to feed daily in his palace, once appeared an extraordinary astrologer, who thought himself to be destined a king. He is well known as Chānakya, the son of Chanaka, who was the author of a

Niti-sastra, the same probably that is now taught to the Hindu boys in indigenous schools. Somehow the king got angry with him, who, not getting the chief place as officiating priest, cursed him, and crossing the threshold of the hall's entrance, fled away in disguise to Takshasila (Taxila) in Punjab. But to plot the destruction of the Nanda dynasty the more effectively, Chānakya returned to his mother's country, of which the town was most probably that now known as Chankigurh, and saw an extraordinary Maurya boy, called Chandragupta, with marks of royalty, at Pippalivana—now Pipariya-Rampurwa, if I am right in my identifications, and at once purchased him for 1,000 silver pieces. Instructing him in the different branches of learning, Chanakya, also known as Vishungupta and Kautilya, minutely explained to him the line of action for attaining royalty.—Bigandet's *Gaudama*, Volume II, Chapter V, pages 125 to 127.

The Jaina chronicles, as recorded in the *Parisishtha*, say that Chanakya was the son of a devout Jaina Brahman of Chanaka, a village of the Golla district (Champaran?). He went to Pataliputra to get presents from Nanda, who, however, was very displeased with him for his haughtiness. Vowing vengeance that he would destroy the king, Chanakya fled to the village of King's Peacocks, Mayura-poshaka (Magura, near Rampurwa, in Champaran?), where he saw Chandragupta, the son of the Chief's daughter. The boy used to be acknowledged in their plays as king by the children of the village, while grazing cattle in the field. Promising him a kingdom, Chanakya brought him, and levying troops with the money that he had acquired, laid siege to Pataliputra. But they were easily vanquished by the more numerous army of the Nanda; and Chānakya and Chandragupta were forced to run away, pursued by the enemy's horsemen. They escaped to Himakuta (Nepal?), and allying with Parvataka, the king of the country, re-opened the campaign by reducing the outlying provinces. The allies at last captured the capital and expelled Dhana-nanda, whose daughter, however, Chandragupta married and ascended the throne in 155 A.V. (372 B.C.). The Buddhistic chronicles, however, differ from the Jaina account by adding that Dhana-Nanda was killed, and that Chandragupta became king in 163 A.B. (380 B.C.), a difference of eight years.† The destruction of the Nanda dynasty is narrated in an interesting *Sanskrit* drama, called *Mudra Rakshasa*, by Visakhadatta, the son of Prithu-Maharajah (see Wilson's translation).

MAURYA DYNASTY.

The Buddhistic chronicles relegate the origin of the Mauryas to a prehistoric period when they, being a collateral branch of the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, crossed, according to the *Mahavamsa* of Ceylon, the Himalaya mountains, and "discovered a delightful location, well-watered and situated in the midst of *sāl* and other trees." There they founded a town, which was called by its Sākya lords "Maurya-nagara," or "Mayura-nagara," the town of Peacocks, presumably from the fact of an abundance of peacocks which the first settlers saw there. Aswaghosha, the 13th patriarch, in his life of the Buddha, calls the dynasty *Mayura*. The Jaina chronicles say that it was the village of the king's peacocks (Mayura-poshaka). But the Brahmanical *Purānas* derive the word *Maurya* from Murā, the Sudra queen of Mahapadma-Nanda, the mother or grandmother of Chandragupta. This prehistoric town of Maurya-nagara I propose to identify with the site north of, and anterior to, Haganpur, now known as Mahājogin.

A portion of the Mauryas appears to have subsequently moved about six miles south-west and founded Pippalivana, literally the Forest of Pipal Trees (now Pipariya-Rampurwa?),

* Bigandet refers him as a robber-chief, and Justin says of his army as consisting of robbers, the Arāttā of the Punjab. The Greek historians appear to have generally confused the different kings as one.

† There appears to be a difference of eight years between the records of the Svetambars and the Digamvaras.

where they raised a stupa over the ashes of Gautama-Buddha they had received at Kusinagara (now Lowriya-Nandangurh?). A branch of the Pippalivana Mauryas appears to have migrated again to Vaisali, on the conquest of which by Ajatasatru in 540 B.C., they had to fly eastward, where they for the third time founded a town, calling it Maurya-nagara after themselves. Further misfortunes falling on them, they had again to fly precipitately. A princess of theirs was in her family way, who was brought to Pippalivana. There she gave birth to a son, whom she cast away. The child was taken in and adopted by a shepherdess, Chandra by name, from whom he received the well-known appellation of Chandragupta, having been *protected (gupta)* by her.*

On becoming the king of Magadha, Chandragupta appointed Chanakya, hitherto his priest and benefactor, as his prime minister. Parvataka, his ally, dying shortly after, the king took possession of his dominions in the Himalayas. As some of the last Nanda's followers continually committed daring robberies, and otherwise gave trouble to the establishment of the new government, Chanakya appointed a weaver, who succeeded in restoring order and in killing all robbers.

No events of his reign of 24 years were recorded, except that there was a great famine

A great famine and the Jain influence.

† 365 B.C. according to the Digamvaras.

which lasted twelve years, which compelled the Jain *Jatis* to go to some other country, more so as Chandragupta followed and favoured the Brahmans. Bhadravahu, the head of the Jain church (371-357 B.C.)†, who is said to have converted the king, went to Nepal. The monks, who remained at Pataliputra, neglected their regular studies, so that the sacred lore was on the point of falling into oblivion. The *Sangha*, Jain conference, therefore, re-assembling at the capital, when the famine was over, collected the fragments which they could remember, and which are now known as the eleven *Angas*. Sthulabhadra, the son of Sakatāla, who was the prime-minister to the ninth Nanda (Dhana-Nanda), was the disciple of Bhadravahu, and after his death became the head of the church (357-308 B.C.) In some Jain legends, Chandragupta is said to have retired from the worldly life and died by *Samādhi* (ecstatic meditation) in about 356 B.C.

Chanakya placed on the throne his son, Bindusāra, who was born of Durdharā, the queen; he was then in his 16th year. Chanakya appears to have been subsequently murdered by a rival minister.

Bindusara.

The reign of Bindusāra, who was also called Mitrugupta, appears to be uneventful, he dying in 214 A.B. (329 B.C.), after ruling for 29 years. According to the Buddhists, both he and his father were the followers of the Brāhmanas.

Bindusāra left 101 sons, of whom Sumana or Susima was the eldest. His first queen, Dharma, gave birth to two sons, Asoka and Tissa. Asoka was sent in his sixteenth year as Governor of Ujjain, or, according to *Asokavadana*, to Takshasilā, to quell a rebellion. Hearing of the dangerous illness of his father, he came back to the capital at the age of 41 years after an absence of several years, and on his death, usurped the throne with the help of the chief minister, Rādhagupta, through whose intrigue Susima had in the meantime been sent to Takshasilā. On his return, Susima attacked Pataliputra; but Asoka defeated and slew him along with all his brothers. He thus became the king, being crowned in 218 A.B. (325 B.C.), under the title of Priyadarsi. He was the 10th or, according to others, the 13th successor from Ajātasatru.†

On Sumana's death, his wife fled in disguise to Dountsanka, a village a little east of

Asoka Priyadarsi.

Pataliputra, where she shortly after gave birth to a son, named Nigrodha. This boy entered the monastic order under Varuna, whose monastery was a little distant from the southern gate of the capital. While one morning Nigrodha was going towards the eastern gate to visit his mother at Dountsanka, Asoka, who was then standing on the lion's gate enjoying the cool morning air, saw and called him in, and conversing with him on matters of faith, was converted by him in the fourth year after his coronation. Subsequently Tissa Moggaliputra, the sixth patriarch, 319-259 B.C., became his *Guru* (spiritual teacher).

In order to acquire religious merit, Asoka built a great number of stupas in all the

Builds Buddhist monuments.

cities of Jambudwipa, distributing the Buddha's relics, which he extracted from the stupas, previously raised at Vaisali, Kapilavastu, Allakappa, Pava, Kusinagara, and Rajgir. At Rajgir, the king found the greatest amount of relics, which Kasyapa had collected and buried in an underground structure in about 20 A.B. The finding out of the relics happened in 218 A.B., as foretold by the first *Sthavira* in an inscription on a golden plate. Seeing a likeness of the Buddha, the king gave orders for the multiplication of his statues, and throughout his realm in Jambudwipa he issued a proclamation inviting the people to observe the eight precepts of the Buddhist doctrines. He gave orders for the erection of the stupas in 226 A.B., which were completed and dedicated three years afterwards. The first stupa that he built was at his capital at Pataliputra, which the Chinese pilgrims described as very magnificent.

To propagate the new state religion with better effect, hitherto confined to Magadha, Asoka consecrated his own son and daughter, Mahindra and Sanghamitra, in 223 A.B. And

* Another Buddhist account says that Chandragupta's father reigned over a small kingdom in a valley among the Himalayas, called Mayuras from the great number of peacocks. He resisted an invasion of his enemies; but his queen escaped to Pataliputra, where she gave birth to a son, whom she exposed in the neighbourhood of a cattle shed, where a bull protected him. This child was found by a shepherd, who called him Chandragupta from the bull, whose name was Chandra.

† A life of the Buddha, written by an Indian of Kephene in about 445 A.D., records a curious story of Asoka, who had a dream. The Bhikkhus explained that there was a gold casket containing a gold plate, in which is inscribed a prophecy by Buddha about him that 100 (1215) years after his death Vijayamitra of Rajgir, in consequence of his offering a ball of earth will be born as Asoka of the Maurya family. Obeying the dream he raised 84,000 stupas.

to expel the irreligious from the church, and to reconcile all sectarian differences, he invited Tissa, then seventy-two years old, from Ahoganga (near Haridwara?) to hold the third

III Buddhist Council and purification of Buddhism.

Buddhist Council in 235-236 A.B. (= 307 B.C.), when the genuineness of the canon of the scriptures, as compiled by Kasyapa in the first council at Rajgriha, was confirmed and the purity of the doctrine restored. The assembly was held at Kukutārāma, where a vast hall was erected, at the end of which a fine pavilion made of cloth of various and bright colours was prepared for the accommodation of the monarch. Each *Bhikkhuka* was here examined, and those found wanting in the knowledge and practice of the three *Pisithakas* were expelled from the assembly, being stripped of the canonical robe and compelled to resume the white dress of the *Paunhas* (Brahmanas). After the conclusion of the third council, missionaries were sent to different countries to preach Buddhism, and Asoka deputed

Sends missionaries abroad and Mahindra to Ceylon.

Mahendra and Sanghamitra with a branch of the Bodhi tree at Bodha-Gaya, to Ceylon, where Tissa was reigning at the time.

Being in terms of amity with Dharmasoka, Tissa had despatched a costly present of gems and fruits to Pataliputra, and the monarch of Jambudwipa, not to be outdone in generosity, cordially received the Ceylonese ambassadors, and sent them back with his own son and ambassadors bearing gifts of a diadem, a sword of state, a royal parasol, golden slippers, a head ornament, a vase of gold, Ganges water, asbestos towels, and a great number of minor articles. As advised by Asoka, Tissa with his subjects embraced the Buddhist religion and otherwise followed the instructions of the royal hermit, Mahindra, the queens and other ladies becoming nuns or lay disciples under his sister.

From a line of arguments, embodied in a separate note, I conclude, that Asoka was the Grecian Sandracottus or Sandracryptos, the contemporary of Seleuchus Nicator. While at Taksashila (Taxila) where

Fights and defeats the Greeks.

Bindusara sent him to quell a rebellion, he appears to have visited and offended Alexander the Great in his camp. Justin records that there he offended the Greek invader by his impertinent language, who ordered him to be put to death. But young Sandracottus escaped by flight. Fatigued with long journey, he laid down to rest, when a lion of large size is said to have come and licked off his perspiration, without injuring him. This prodigy inspired him, and collecting a band of robbers and rousing the Indians, he waged wars with the captains of Alexander. In the battles he fought with the Greeks, he was always distinguished in the van, being mounted on an elephant of great size and strength. Seleuchus Nicator, being defeated at last in about 305 B.C., entered into a treaty with the Maurya emperor, to whom he gave his daughter, ceded considerable territories west of Cabul, and sent Megasthenes as his ambassador. Megasthenes, who was in the camp of Sandracottus, which consisted of 400,000 illiterate men, did not witness on any day thefts which exceeded the sum of 200 drachmai, and so recorded the rarity of crimes in India. The king, who, besides his family name, adopted, like his predecessors, the surname of Palibothri, conquered the whole of India, with 600,000 army and 9,000 elephants, of which he gave 500 to Seleuchus.

Megasthenes wrote an account of what he saw in India, and describes Palibothra (Pataliputra) as 80 stadia in length and 15 in breadth. "It is of the shape of a parallelogram, and is guarded with wooden walls pierced with loopholes for the discharge of arrows. It has a ditch in front for defence and for receiving the sewage of the city." The ditch was 600 cubits in breadth and 30 in depth. "The wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four and sixty gates." This "greatest city in India" in the dominions of the Prasians (Prachyas), who were the most distinguished in all India, was where the Ganges, whose breadth was 100 stadia, and depth 20 fathoms at least, and Irranobos (Hiranyavāha, the golden-flowing, so-called from the yellow sands of the Son) united. Megasthenes adds further on, that the city extended in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of 80 stadia with a breadth of 15. "Such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea coast were built of wood, being meant to last only for a time; so destructive are the heavy rains, which pour down, and the rivers also, when they overflow their banks and inundate the plains; while those cities which stand on commanding situations and lofty eminences are built of brick and mud." This remark applies to Palibothra; for the suburb, south of the capital, which was, as now, flooded annually, possessed wooden structures, as my excavations showed; while the metropolis itself contained brick and stone buildings.

Asoka had a successful reign of 37 years. His edicts on rocks and pillars are too well known to be detailed here. One of his sons, by name

Meets domestic troubles.

Kusthana, founded the Khoten kingdom in 234 A.B. (=309B.C.). Kunāla, the heir-apparent, was sent to Taxila to quell a rebellion, most probably raised in connection with the establishment of the Greek kingdom of Baktria; there he was blinded at the instigation of one of the queens, who wanted to secure the throne for her own son, who was then governor of Ujjayani.

In 248A.B. (=295B.C.) Queen Asandhimitta died; and three years after Asoka married a second queen, who tried to destroy the Bodhi tree at Bodha Gaya; and she probably it was who caused Kunāla to be blinded at Taksashila. Thus mortified and otherwise fatigued with royal and worldly life, Asoka retired and became an ascetic in 254 A.B., and died two years after in great poverty; for he could not present to the *Sangha* more than a half apple, as referred to by Hiuen Tsiang.

Samprati, his grandson and son of Kunala, ascended the throne of Pataliputra in 254

Samprati succeeds him and patronizes
Jaina faith.

A.B. (=289 B.C.), or, according to the Jaina chronicles, in
235 A.V. (=292 B.C.)—a difference of only three years.

A legend is recorded in the Buddhistic chronicles of Nepal, that before he died, Asoka ordered his grandson to present the whole kingdom to the Buddhistic church, which Samprati, by the advice of Radhagupta, his minister, bought back for four *crores* of gold *dinars*. According to the *Parisista*, he became a staunch Jaina under Suhastin, the 11th *Suri* (from 308 to 252 B.C.), whom he met at Ujjayani. Samprati was the 17th successor from Srenika Bimbisara. He erected Jaina monuments in his extensive empire, adorning the Trikhandas with Prasadas, Bimbas, and other edifices, and erected a *vihara* in Anarya (foreign) country. The advice and example of Samprati induced his vassals to embrace the Jaina creed, and caused Jaina temples to be erected over the whole of Jambudwipa and the adjacent countries, where as also to the Andhras and the Damilas missionaries were sent. He died at the end of his reign; and the Jains thus losing their royal patron, rapidly lost their ascendancy at Pataliputra, and, since after the death of Sthulabhadra, the son of the minister of the 9th Nanda, and the 9th head of the Jaina church in 308 B.C., his two disciples, Mahagiri and Suhastin, separated from each other. The latter, the spiritual guide of the late king, had therefore to remove to Ujjayani, which henceforth appears to have become the head-quarters of the Jaina church.

Samprati appears to have been referred to by Athenaios as Amitrachates or Allitrochades (Amitra-ghata), the son of Sandracottus, who once wrote to Antiochos asking him to buy and send him sweet wine, dried figs, and a sophist. Antiochos replied:—"We shall send you the figs and the wine; but in Greece custom forbids a sophist to be sold." To Allitrochades at Palibothra Deimachos was sent on an embassy by Seleuchus, who had before deputed Megasthenes to Sandracottus.

According to "The Questions of Sariputra," the grandson of the Maurya Kuko (Asoka?), by name Pushyamitra (Samprati?), succeeding to

Persecution of the Buddhists.

the empire, persecuted the Buddhists, destroying the pagodas and the scriptures. Five hundred Arhats, however, escaped. A righteous king succeeding, 300 priests recovered the law from the 500, and again taught the people. The king divided the Dharma Vinaya into parts and built a stronghold to preserve them; so that it became difficult for the people to consult them. An old Bhikshuka thereupon wrote a remonstrance, selecting such passages from the Vinaya of the "Great congregation," as in accordance with the Kasyapiya school. The other party, however, included false additions. The king at last decided at Pataliputra between the two schools by the selection of slips of wood, black and white. Those Bhikshukas taking the black slips were in far greater number than those who selected the white. Thus the Buddhistic church (*Sangha*) separated into the old Mahasanghikas and the new Sthaviras.

Afterwards there was a wicked king in Madhyama, from whom all the Sramanas fled,

Re-establishment of the Buddhists.

and the sacred books were scattered far and wide. A good king succeeding to the throne, the Buddhists were again invited to Pataliputra. At this time 500 priests wanted to decide matters of faith; but there was no copy of the Vinaya to refer to, or a teacher who knew it. They then sent a priest to Jetavana at Sravasti, to copy out the Vinaya in its original character, as it had been handed down to that time. Fa Hien long after copied out this Sanskrit original, in 417 A.D., at the Arama of Asoka, in the Vihara of the southern Devaraja (Virudhaka).

Pataliputra had become the head-quarters of the Buddhist church from the time when it became the capital city; and the Sthaviras from Upagupta, who was initiated in 100 A.B. downwards, used to reside here. The 10th, 11th and the 13th Sthaviras—Parsva, Mahatyaga and Asvaghosha—are especially mentioned in the Buddhistic literature as residents of this city. Asvaghosha, a great poet and singer who was born at Benares, used to travel about with a body of musicians and to convert many persons of distinction. In this way he converted 500 young princes of Pataliputra by publicly chanting hymns, which practice on that account was prohibited by the king. Itsing says that the hymns used in the Buddhistic church, when he visited India in about 675 (A.D.), were composed by Asvaghosha, who also wrote the well-known life of the Buddha, that was translated into Chinese in 420 (A.D.). Hsien Tsang mentions that Asvaghosha defeated a learned Brahman near Kukhutarana, who had for a long time silenced all Buddhist scholars. The King of Getai invaded Magadha and besieged the capital; but at the intercession of Asvaghosha went back with some relics. This invasion is most probably that led by Kanishka, who took away the Sthavira himself to Gandhara.

After the departure of Asvaghosha, and when the generation of learned Buddhists passed away, Hsien Tsang records that the heretic teachers of the Vaisali school gave themselves up to study of the scriptures with a view to gain mastery; and summoning their partisans in their house, struck the *ghanta* (bell), and addressing the king to be the umpire, challenged the orthodox Buddhists to discuss with them. The latter, though numerous, were weak and not so learned as their enemy, and hence were easily defeated. From that time they were bound not to strike the bell in any monastery. After twelve years, Aryadeva, the great disciple of Nagarjuna and the 16th Sthavira, secretly entering the city and loudly striking the *ghanta*, challenged and defeated the heretics in the presence of the king, who erected the Bell monument to commemorate this event.

Returning to political history, we enter a dark period; for no mention of any successor to Samprati is found in the chronicles of either the Jainas or of the Buddhists.* The *Puranas* alone give the names and duration of the different dynasties. According to them, the Maurya dynasty consisted of ten kings, who altogether reigned 137 years, and after Asoka, Sujasa (Samprati), Dasaratha, Sangata, Salisuka, Somasarma, Satadhanva and Vrihadratha successively sat on the throne of Pataliputra. The last Maurya king was dethroned and killed by his minister, Pushpamitra, who established the Sunga dynasty in about 188 B.C. The Sunga kings were ten in number, who reigned for 112 years. This dynasty was succeeded by that of the Kanva, which had five kings reigning for 45 years. After them came the Andhras from Deccan, whose duration was 456 years.

But it is very doubtful that the Andhras had an undisputed possession of Magadha for such a length of time. Major Wilford states that the Andhras lived at Phulwari and Sambalpur, some miles south-west of Bankipore. Taranath, the Tibetan historian, mentions a great number of Magadha kings, who, however, are so unchronologically treated, that it is very difficult to adjust them in their proper places. The Tibetan records that during the usurpation of Pushpamitra, the Tirthikas invaded India and destroyed temples from Jalandhara to Magadha; and the usurper had to fly and to die five years after.* Taranath mentions another invasion of Magadha by Hunimanta, the king of the white Hunas of Persia, who also demolished temples during the reign of Dharma Chandra. Budhapaksha, the latter's cousin-germane, and king of Benares, allied with China, and with the aid of the kings of Western and Central India, defeated and slew the invader, and re-established Buddhism.

Notwithstanding these invasions, Pataliputra continued to be a capital city. The king of Funam (China) sent an ambassador to the Mahārājā (Meu-lun) of Magadha, between 220 and 278 A.D. This Chinese officer records that "the suburbs of the fortified city, in which he" (the king) "resided, were watered by canals, which flowed on all sides and filled the deep ditches, which surrounded the city. Beneath it flowed a great river" (Ganges). "All the palaces and public buildings of the city were covered with inscriptions and other ornaments in relief. A winding street, one *li* in length, formed the market. The houses were several storeys in height." This probably refers to the present Chauk of Patna, north of which was the citadel.

Towards the close of the third century A.D., Pandu was the emperor reigning at Pataliputra. He was at first of Brahmanical persuasion. Guhasiva was the king of Kalinga, subordinate to him, who was a devout Buddhist and worshipped a stupa at Dantapura, his capital. The left tooth of the Buddha, which had been brought by Khemo Thero from Ramagrama, was enshrined in this stupa. Pandu asked this celebrated relic from Guhasiva, who, however, declined to part with it. Thereupon Raja Chittayana, at the command of the emperor, besieged Dantapura and brought the relic and Guhasiva as prisoner to Pataliputra. Seeing the miracles, caused by the tooth, Pandu became a Buddhist and built a splendid temple over it. Kshiradhara, king of Sravasti, besieged Pataliputra to possess the tooth, but was defeated and slain. The relic was subsequently taken back to Dantapura and thence to Ceylon for safe custody.

The next fragmentary notice that is found in connection with the history of Pataliputra is of the Gupta dynasty,† which was most probably established here by Srigupta in 318 A.D., if Alberuni's statement be true that the date of the extinction of the Gupta dynasty coincided with the commencement of the Ballavi dynasty. The *Vishnu Purana* records that the Guptas reigned in Magadha. According to Dr. Bühler, Chandra Gupta I married a princess of the Liochhavi family of Pataliputra, which presumably came from Vaisāli. Mr. Smith of Gorakhpur states in his "Observations on the Gupta Coinage," that "I have no doubt that Pataliputra was ordinarily the capital of Chandra Gupta I, Kacha, Samudra Gupta, and of Chandra Gupta II, in his earlier years. But after the annexation of Saurashtra (Kathiawar) and the intervening countries, Pataliputra lay inconveniently far to the east, and there are consequently indications that Ajodhya became at times the head-quarters of the Gupta empire.....It is possible that Pataliputra may have continued to be one of the royal residences in the time of Skanda Gupta's successors, but I do not think it probable that the centre of their power lay in that city." In the history of China, king Kinto (Gutto or Gupta), whose family was reigning for several generations, is noticed as sending an embassy to China in 502 A.D. In my excavations here, I found two Gupta coins, belonging to Chandragupta II; and since these two were the last ones of the number of old coins I found here, it seems reasonable to conclude that Pataliputra ceased to be a capital city about this time, just as Mr. Smith supposes.

The next fragmentary notice of Pataliputra is by Fa Hian (Fa Hsian, according to H. Giles), who visited it in about 415 A.D. He saw in the middle of the city the royal palace and halls which Asoka (? Kalasoka) was believed to have commissioned the Yashkas to construct by piling

* This is evidently referred to in the *Jaga Purana* of the *Gārdi Samkhita* in a prophetic tone thus:—

"Then the viciously valiant Yavanas, after reducing Saketa, Panchala country, and Mathura, will reach Kasmirahaja." (Pataliputra); Pushpapura " (Pataliputra) being reached, all provinces will be in disorder undoubtedly.....The fiercely fighting Yavanas will not stay in Madhyadesa. There will be a cruel dreadful war in their own kingdom."—Dr. Kern's preface to *Prakrit Samkhita Bhāṣya*.

† "Princess of the Gupta race of the Vaisya caste will possess all these countries from the banks of the Ganges to Prayāga, Saketa and Magadha."—*Vayu-Purana*.

up stones, and of which the walls and gates showed elegant carving and inlaid sculpture—work of a style no human hand could accomplish. About the life of the citizens, this Chinese pilgrim notes that every year, on the 8th of the 2nd Chinese month, there was held the festival of the procession of about thirty cars, every one of which was differently decorated. A car was a wooden tower, four-wheeled and pagoda-like, which was about 22 feet in height and had five stages with corner shrines (cupolas?). It was made of bamboos, lashed together, the whole structure being supported by a centre-post resembling a large spear with three points. In each of these cars a figure of a Buddha with a Bodhisattva in attendance, along with the statues of the Brahmanical Devas—all adorned with gold, silver and glass and under canopies of embroidered silk,—was carried in great state.* At this time the Brahmacharies used to invite the Buddhists to enter the city, where they stayed for a night or two, burning lamps and making religious offerings amidst music and games. From the fact of the invitation by the Brahmans, it appears that the Buddhists did not at this time live within the city, but outside it, chiefly at the two convents, Mahayāna and Hinayāna, near the great stupa of Asoka, where about 700 priests dwelt. There were two celebrated Brahman teachers, of whom one was much respected by the king. Fa Hian resided here for more than three years, in the vihara of the Southern Devaraja (Viradhaka), learning and copying Buddhist scriptures, which he could not get elsewhere.

Fa Hian also records that, of all the kingdoms of mid-India, (Madhya-deśa), the towns of Magadha were especially large. The people were rich and prosperous, practising virtue and justice. The nobles and householders founded hospitals and *dharmaśālās* within the city, to which the poor and the destitute, crippled and the diseased, repaired for charities and medical treatment. "Physicians," he says, "inspect their diseases, and according to their cases order them food and drink, medicines and decoctions—everything, in fact, that may contribute to their ease. When cured, they depart at their convenience."—Beal's "Records of the Western World," volume I, Introduction.

After the departure of Fa Hian, the city appears to have been deserted by the king, who, with his court, removed elsewhere. Pataliputra in consequence rapidly declined; for after a prosperity of one thousand years, as foretold by the Buddha, the fate of Pataliputra was doomed by fire, inundations and internal dissensions. Of the last cause of destruction we have no historical or traditional record; but we can form an idea from the civil wars of the Nanda and Maurya dynasties, as narrated in the *Toy-cart* (*Mudra Rakshasa*), translated by Professor Wilson in his *Hindu Theatre*. As to fires, we have ample evidence even now, for the city, then, as now, was composed of wooden and tiled houses, which are easily attracted by fire during the hot season. The flood also appears during the rainy season; and the ancient city must have been submerged at exceptionally wet periods. This fact explains the formation of a yellowish and reddish soil, from 5 to 10 feet in depth, above the debris of ancient ruins.

The royal patronage being gone, and the city being thus doomed, the Buddhist establishments had to starve or to depart from here. Many went to Nalanda, which became a great university of Buddhist learning. In 436 A.D.,† Arhat Kasyapa of the Maurya family left the convent of the Paucha Kukkutarama, and went to Tibet (Bod-Yul), where seven years after he built the first monastery, near the great lake of the country. Rockhill, in his "Life of the Buddha" from the Tibetan source, notes that five monks‡ from Magadha visited the then reigning king, Lhathothori, at Ambu, and presented and explained to him some relics.

Pataliputra decayed so rapidly after this period that, when Hsien Tsiang visited it in 637 A.D., all the monuments that he describes were in complete ruins, so that he could not reside here more than seven days in the "Little City." He, however, gives a somewhat detailed account of the decayed monuments that he saw. Magadha in his time was 5,000 *li* in circuit. The walled towns had but few inhabitants. The country being low was inundated during the rains, "from the first month of summer to the second month of autumn." The villages, which were thickly populated, were raised on elevated spots, and communications were kept on by boats, just as we see now. Rice of an unusual kind was grown here; called the "rice for the use of the great."

The old city of Pataliputra was 70 *li* round and was long deserted,—of which the foundation walls only existed; and on the river bank and on the north of the old palace there was a little town consisting of about one thousand houses. At first there were one hundred Sangharamas, of which fifty and ten Deva temples were barely traceable, and of which only two or three existed entire at the time of Hsien Tsiang, who, however, adds that "the monasteries, Deva temples and stupas, which lie in ruins, may be counted by hundreds."

This lamentable state of decay was aggravated by Sasānka, Raja of Karnasuvarna, who, some years before the arrival of Hsien Tsiang, invaded Magadha and destroyed Buddhist monuments. And at Pataliputra, or rather near the small town of Nila, he attempted to break into pieces the sacred stone of the Buddha's footprint, on which tradition said the great saint

* H. A. Giles, in his translation of Fa Hian's travels, gives a different version: "On the car were crescent-headed javelins and partisans. It was draped round with a kind of Cashmere, which is painted in various colours. They make images of all the gods, using gold, silver and glass to ornament them, and suspending over them embroidered banners and canopies. At the four sides they make niches, each with a Buddha sitting inside and a Pusa standing in attendance." This shows that the people gave prominence to the Brahmanical gods, the Buddha occupying a subordinate position.

† 633 of the Chinese era.

‡ Probably of Kasyapa's party.

had stood for the last time. But Purnavarma, the last of the Asoka's race, and subordinate to Siladitya of Kanouj, who defeated and expelled the invader, restored or rebuilt some of the sacred edifices.

After the departure of Hsien Tsiang, no mention of Pataliputra is found in any records. I-tsing, the third Chinese pilgrim, who visited Magadha in about 675 A.D., did not visit it; nor the first Muhammadan invasion under Buktār Khilji in 1203 appears to touch it.

1266, however, the inhabitants of Patna (Pattiali), then a nest of robbers, are mentioned in one of the early Muhammadan history, as joining with those of Bhojpur and stopping all intercourse between Delhi and Bengal. Balin severely punished them, and a fort was ordered to be constructed here. This is probably the present citadel of Patna at the east end of the city. In 1528, the Pathan chiefs of Bihar assembled at Patna and deprived Sher Khan of his government, and raised Mohummud, the son of Secunder, as king of Delhi.

In 1541, Sher Shah, becoming the emperor, built a fortified town on the débris of the ancient town. The inscription, dated 1042 H., on the gate of the fort, however, attributes its erection to Feroz Jang Khan. Shah Arzani, a native of the Punjab, settled here on the big mound, now known as Dargah, in his name, and died in 1032 H. In 1611 A.D., Khusrō, the son of Jahangir, seized Patna, the then capital of Behar, and taking possession of the palace, women and wealth of the Subah, gave the town to plunder. Shah Jehan, while in rebellion resided at the palace of the Subah at Patna. Azim, the grandson of Aurunzebe, was, afterwards the Subah of Bihar and repaired the old fortification, whence the town got the name of Azimabad.

Pandit Haraprasad Sastri, in his last year's pamphlet on "Living Buddhism in Bengal," notices in the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, a manuscript called *Danacoli-cicriti*, which gives an account of Pataliputra, or Pattana town, by Jagann-mohan, a learned scholar and a great traveller, at the command of Baijāla Bhupati, the Chouhan proprietor of four parganas about the city of Patna. Vaijāla died in 1514 A.D. (Somoat 1570), and his Raj was destroyed shortly after. Jogan-mohan mentions another Raja, Sugati Chandra, a Buddhist, who conquered Patna and other towns.

In Dhanesara's *Satranjaya Mahātmya*, a Jaina work, it is prophesied that 1,940 years after the death of Vira (=1413 A.D.), Kalkin, after committing many disasters and destroying the temples at Mathura, will become king. An inundation of 17 days will compel him and his subjects to migrate to Pataliputra, where, digging the golden stupas of king Nanda, and taking out his treasures, will rebuild the town. After persecuting the Jainas, Kalkin will die in 2001 A.V. or 1475 A.D. This might refer to the rebuilding of the town by Sher Shah, who, being a Muhammadan and Pathan, must have destroyed and opened the ancient monuments while constructing the fort.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION I.—PRESENT STATE OF THE RUINS OF PATALIPUTRA.*

Pataliputra may reasonably be said to have included the long and narrow tract of the country from the suburbs of Bankipur village to Jafar Khan's garden, east of Patna, an extent of nearly nine miles or 80 stadia of Megasthenes. But the natives hold, according to Martin's *Eastern India*, volume I, that the ancient *Gardemah* or boundary extended from Shergpur to Baikantapur. On the west of the village of Bankipore is a large expanse of low fields, which is annually flooded, and is still known as *Mar-Son*, the dead Son, whose current is even now seen flowing to the Ganges during the rains. This was undoubtedly the confluence of the Ganges and Erranobos (*Hiranya-vaha*, the golden-flowing, the *Sona*, so called from the large and yellow sands that compose its bed), which Megasthenes refers to in his description of Palibothra. Megasthenes also mentions the Sonus as a separate river from the Erranobos—which appears to be a mistake, for, in *Sanscrit*, *Sona* and *Hiranya-vaha* are synonymous terms applied by the Brahmanical writers of old to one river only.

A branch of the Son, whose main current was on the west of the village of Bankipur, appears to have been diverted towards the east, and just south of the ancient city, to form the ditch, which, according to the Greek account, was 600 feet in width. From the indications of low grounds, sandy bed below the fields, and marshes and tanks, this channel is easily traced on the north of the Bankipore station and railway line, Lohanipur, Bahadurpur to Sandalpur, on the north of which is the large tank of Gun-sar or Gangāsagar, and the Dargah Arzani. From this tank the low fields extend eastward to the Sevai tank, and thence on to Tulsi Mandi and to south of Patna, beyond which I have not yet followed it. About 10 feet below the hard and reddish soil of the low fields is found a thick stratum of the large and thick yellowish sand peculiar to the Son, where the remains of ancient boats are occasionally discovered, as on the south of the present distillery, south of the Dargah and at Muradpur, while digging tanks and wells. I also discovered a series of ancient ghāts, about a thousand feet in length and facing the north, on the north of Nawatola. This channel, which was turned into the ditch, 600 feet wide, thus ran parallel to the Ganges, and from the intervening strip thus formed and about a mile in width, which perceptibly slopes from the high river bank towards the south, we can easily understand the size of the ancient city as a parallelogram which Megasthenes describes in his *Indica*.

About half a mile south of the channel and the ditch of the city is a larger expanse of low and marshy fields, where also large and yellowish sand, as also gravel stones, are seen. In

* See Plate I, for a map of the city.

prehistoric time this was most probably the main channel of the Son, which joined with the Falgu, now about six miles further south, flowed here, and joined the Ganges at Fatua, where a *saugam mēla* or religious bathing festival is still celebrated by the pilgrims to Gaya, as also the villagers from distant places. This low tract is inundated during the rainy season, and the villages that are dotted here on elevated mounds, at long distances from one another, have communications only by boats, just as Hsien Tsiang saw in the seventh century.

In the course of two thousand years and more, the silt from the Son and Punpun has accumulated over the ancient remains on the south of the city, to a height of about ten or twelve feet. And within the city itself, the debris of subsequent habitations has raised the present level of the ground to ten or fifteen feet. That a large amount of silt is brought in by the annual inundations of the Punpun and Son from the south and the west will be evident to one who studies the condition of the tract here during the rains. During the last rainy season the whole suburb from Lohanipur to Tulsi-Mandi, and on the north of the railway, was one sheet of reddish water, supplied by currents from the south. And one day, viewing the country from the top of the *gola* at the village of Bankipore, I saw on the north the Ganges, a *yoyana* in width; on the west the wide expanse of the Son joining the former just below me in a great current; and on the south, the whole looked like a reddish sea from the railway station far away to the south and south-east, the villages amidst palm trees looking as isles at long distances from one another; while the glorious sunset of the autumnal evening reflected golden hews, all around and up and below, even towards the eastern horizon, where the fleecy clouds were banked up, and moved away in inexpressible and fantastic combinations. Only the long strip of the town, half-submerged, danced on the reflecting waters that invaded it on all sides. The annual accumulation of silt can therefore be easily understood. Besides, the great amount of dust blown over here during the westerly winds must have added to the raising of the land. The people believe that land is yearly raised about the thickness of one wheat (*yara*). The ruins of Pataliputra, therefore, lie deep under the earth; and, in order to trace out ancient monuments, I had to dig 20 feet and more in some places, as at Lohanipur and Kumrahar, to discover the wooden palisade.

About two furlongs west of the Bankipore station is a mound, known as Jamuna dhih, (dhih means a mound of ruins). From this place eastward, brick ruins are discovered here and there. About a mile south of the station is another mound near the village of Naoratanpur, where I exhumed a circular structure; and less than a mile east of the same is the village of Lohanipur, near which, and on the site of a traditional *Garh*, my excavations proved very fruitful. About half-a-mile east of Lohanipur are two small villages, Rampur and Bahadurpur, which stand on two mounds, being about a furlong of each other. Rampur appears to be an insular mound in the midst of the bed of the Son and the city ditch. About half a mile north-east of Lohanipur Garh is the large mound known as Bhikna-pahari, the hill of the Bhikshu, which Dr. Waddell identifies as the hermitage of Mahendra. Another half a mile east of Bhikna-pahari is the Dargah Arzani, which stands on an extensive mound. About two furlongs east of the Dargah is a large stupa-like mound of earth now utilized as a Muhammadan graveyard. And south of the Dargah and beyond the Gunsar is a number of ancient remains under the fields of Sandalpur, and in the elevated garden of Bulandibagh, south of which and of the railway line I excavated a series of ghāts or flights of brick steps that once fronted the Son on the north.

A furlong or so east, and a little south of the Son ghāts, are extensive ruins at Kumrahar and the neighbouring villages. About half a mile south-east of Kumrahar is the large village of the two Paharies, Bari and Chhoti, large and small, which extending from north to south for about three furlongs, show a large extent of mounds and high ground. About two furlongs north of the Chhoti Pahari, and just south of the railway line, is a very large and ancient well, which from its so-called unfathomable depth is called Agam Kuan. About a furlong east of Agam Kuan is a high mound, in the midst of an ancient tank, full of lotus; it is surmounted with some Jaina temples which enshrine foot-prints of the Tirthankara, now occasionally worshipped by the followers of Mahavira.

About half a mile east of the Jaina mound is the rectangular town of Patna, of which the ditch is easily traceable on the west, south and the east, the north being occupied by the Ganges. On the east and west of the town are two modern temples of Patani Devi, Chhoti and Bari (little and great), which presumably stand on ancient sites; for the stone-images, chiefly Brahmanical here, are undoubtedly of the pre-Muhammadan period. Just east of the Patna railway station is a high earthen mound; and on the north of it and on the bank of the Ganges is another, now surmounted with the grave of a Muhammadan saint. On the east and south of Patna, I have not yet been able to examine the country. Local tradition says that there were Panj (five) Paharies, hill-like mounds, that were on the corners of the town. In the excavation of Mangal Talao in 1878, some walls and a wooden structure were found about 15 feet below the present level of the ground; and in Sadar gali, in a Muhammadan house, I have heard of a colossal pillar of the Asoka style.

As to the remains of the ancient palisade, I have traced it at Lohanipur, Bahadurpur, Sandalpur, Sitāsthana, and south of Kumrahar. These wooden remains are generally 20 feet below the present level of the ground.

The vestiges of brick edifices were traced between 15 and 10 feet below ground. The double reservoir or well at Kumrahar went down to about 20 feet; while the comparatively

modern buildings were exposed below 5 feet. But the more ancient structures—that of the Maurya period—were generally found between 8 and 12 feet. The bricks of the more ancient period were better burnt and grained, larger in size and more pinkish in colour.

The relics of ancient sculpture have been traced in all places. The fragments of stone footstools, now worshipped as Goreyia Devi, is found everywhere. The two colossal statues of the Yashkas, taken to Calcutta at the end of the last century, were found probably in the fields of Kumrahar, where I have discovered a large Asoka pillar and very interesting specimens of a carved Buddhist railing. At Lohanipur I dug and brought to light another Asoka pillar and a Buddhist rail of a plainer style. At the Dargah Arzani were found several stone relics of Buddhist rail posts and statues built into the walls of the local buildings; and here a finely-carved pillar on the mound of the dog tomb shows shell characters. A few winged lions were also found. Attached to a door of a modern temple at Mahendru are two carved jambs of an ancient fane. In the neighbourhood of the temple of Bari Patani Devi and near a small tank were exhumed several relics of ancient art, one of which is now worshipped as the goddess. In the temple of the Chhoti Patani, are a fine statue of the sun-god, a four-faced Mahadeva Lingam, and fragments of votive stupas. And near the police and post-offices are votive stupas and a fine seated figure of the Buddha. At Agam kuān, Sitalā-sthān and Nowatalā are relics of the past, both Buddhist and Brahmanical. The double figure at Nowatalā is most interesting, for being of the Maurya period, its workmanship is characteristic; it is double-figured, back to back, being represented in the style of Mayadevi holding a tree at the time of the birth of Bodhisattva.

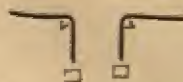
My excavations have yielded ancient coins, beads, and implements of iron. The coins range from the Punch-marked to that of the Gupta. Several ornaments, peculiar to antiquity, were found. The beads are of different kinds, made in glass and crystals. The specimen of ancient pottery show graceful forms forgotten by the artisans of to-day. The remains of iron-work consist of nails, spears, axes, &c., which possess the stamp of the ancient age.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION II.—IDENTIFICATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT SITES OF PATALIPUTRA*.

On a perusal of the foregoing history of Pataliputra, we find six periods of the great city. The first was prehistoric, being founded by Patali or his father, most probably on the site of the present Patna. The second was Pataligrama, most probably on the site of Pahari, where Buddha preached and left his footprint. The third was the *Nagara*, constructed by Ajātasatru, of which the western gate was called after Gautama. Udayin appears to have completed it. The fourth was the capital of Kalāsoka-Nanda, who added an outer rampart, of which the circuit was 70 *li*. The fifth was Palibothra, the city of Sandracottus, described by Megasthenes as 80 stadia in length and 15 in breadth. The sixth is Patna of the Muhammadan period; and I may add that the seventh is Bankipore Patna of the English epoch, which we see growing in our midst. In two thousand and five hundred years the level of the country has been raised to twenty feet and more; and it will not be difficult to trace the six strata of the past towns in areas where the soil has not yet been disturbed.

The *Nagara* of Ajātasatru must have been built of wood in the stockade style, as is evident from the rapidity of construction; for three years after, he invaded and conquered the Vaisali kingdom or rather republic from this town, which served as the base of his military operations. The Chaitya of Pataligrama, in which the Buddha lodged and preached reclining on a centre post, appears, however, to be an ordinary *dalan* we see now in outlying villages, being gable-roofed with thatch or tiles and having walls of mud. Kalāsoka, about one hundred years after, on removing here, constructed an outer rampart in order to extend the town to a larger area for the requirements of a capital.

When the Magadha kingdom expanded into the Indian empire, Sandracottus must have extended the capital still along the strip of high land between the Ganges and the Son. And here Megasthenes' account holds good; for he says that the rectangular city was 80 stadia (9·01 miles) in length and 15 (1½ miles) in breadth. Since there were sixty-four gates, the intervening space between two of them was about three stadia or 1,800 feet, $(80 + 80 + 15 + 15 = 190 = \frac{1}{3} \times 570 = 3)$. From this calculation it appears that there were in each of the eastern and western walls five gates, of which the central one must have been the main lion gate (*Singhadwara*); while the north and the south had respectively 27, of which five probably were main gates. The northern gates led to the river ghāts. As to the 570 towers with which the ancient palisades were defended and adorned, I think each of the gates had



two bastions in front and two on the inner and main walls. Thus at the rate of four towers to a gate we arrive at a total of 256. But from the small space in front, that is the river pace,—the inner gates had not evidently advanced bastions. This supposition reduces the total of the gate towers to 202, which leaves a remainder of 368 to be distributed at the rate of five or six in the intervening spaces between the gates, which numbered 64. As to protection of the city, the Ganges was on the north, Son on the west and south, and a ditch on the east.

In the beginning of the third century, a Chinese ambassador describes the city as fortified, in which the king resided, and watered by canals, which flowed on all sides and

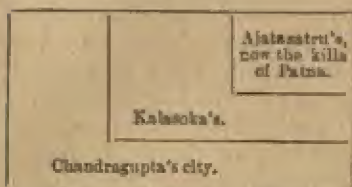
* See Plates I to VI.

then filled the deep ditches which surrounded it. All the palaces and public buildings were ornamented in relief and had inscriptions to distinguish them. The common houses were also several stories in height. The market was shown by a winding street, one *li* in extent, the shops being arranged on both sides with appropriate signs. The second book of the *Si-yu-ki* adds that the city had inner gates, the walls being wide and high. An idea can therefore be conceived of the greatness and magnificence of the capital of Magadha.

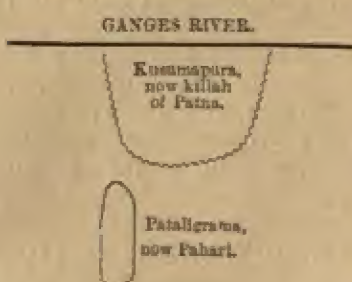
Hsien Tsiang notes the size of the city as 70 *li*, which, bearing in mind the proportion

Chinese description of the city.

and breadth as 5. But 30 *li* is equivalent to about 6 miles; and 5 *li* = 1 mile; not $9 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$, as stated by Megasthenes. This fact shows that during the Chinese visit in 637 A.D., the outer and the wooden palisade must have been destroyed; and only the ruined foundation of the inner wall—that of Kalasoka—was visible. This “outer rampart” of course included the inner citadel of Ajatasatru and Udayibhadra; and I beg to show in a comparative sketch-plan the different sizes of the three towns.



ligrama may be noted. In recording the legend of the Patali tree and the foundation of the



Before I take up the question of identification in detail, the indications of the prehistoric Kusumapura and Pataligrama may be noted. In recording the legend of the Patali tree and the foundation of the latter town, Hsien Tsiang states that it was outside Kusumapura, in a retired and forest tract. Now remembering that the Buddhapada was in Pataligrama, which I propose to locate at Pahari, as shown further on, the anterior town most probably occupied the river side, somewhere close to modern Patna. The kings in prehistoric times preferred river-sides and elevated spots for their towns, as ordained in *Manu* and other *Sastras*. Varshakara, the minister of Ajatasatru, must have selected an elevated spot, commanding the great river, for the frontier fort. And that elevated spot was most probably the debris of ruins of Kusumapura, which afterwards became celebrated as Pataliputra.

Now I can take up the travels of Fa Hian, which is rather easier to follow, for he gives

the bearings and distance of the great Stupa, first constructed by Asoka, which was 3 *li* south of the city. Pataliputra was one *Yojana* (about seven miles) on the other side of the Ganges

from the confluence of the five rivers, which I propose to identify with Harihar Chhatra (Kshetra), where the Sonapur mela is annually held, and where seven rivers* (two being the mythical Saraswati and Jamuna) are traditionally believed to have joined together

* Five rivers were two Gandakias, Ganges, Son, Mahi and Saraju.

(Sangam).

Assuming the southern rampart of the city to be somewhere near and parallel to the railway line, which must have extended to Tulsimandi in continuation of the palisade I discovered at Lohanipur, Bahadurpur and Sandalpur, 3 *li* or more than a half mile, directs me to look for the Asoka stupa at Pahari, where, on the south of the double village, is a great stupa in ruins, which was destroyed partly in the excavations of 1895. This important point being determined, the adjacent monuments, which were close by and of which the foundation walls exist even now underground, which excavation alone can verify, are not difficult to trace.

I can now take up the description of Hsien Tsiang along with that of Fa Hian, and

follow them together (see Plate II for a restored map of Pataliputra). The great stupa of Asoka, which was in the

midst of the royal precincts, was in a ruinous condition; its foundation having sunk, it was leaning on one side. The crowning jewel of the cupola, however, existed on the top; it was made of carved stone and had a surrounding balustrade. By the side of this Stupa was the Mahayana Sangharāma which Fa Hian says was “very imposing and elegant.” Near this was a pagoda (? monastery) belonging to the Hinayana sect (little vehicle). Both the Sangharāmas contained about 600 or 700 monks “of grave and decorous aspect, each having his proper place” (H. A. Giles). Hsien Tsiang does not mention them, from which fact I infer that they were in complete ruins at his time (see Plate III for Pahari and Kumrahar.

To the south of the tower (stupa) was an inscribed pillar, 14 or 15 cubits in girth and

30 cubits in height, which recorded the giving away of his

kingdom by Asoka and redeeming it with money three times. Hsien Tsiang's *Life*, however, states that the Jambudwipa pillar was on the north of the Vihara, which appears more likely to be correct. The inscription was in a mutilated condition.

In front of the great Stupa (Hsien Tsiang says “by its side and not far from it”) was the Buddhapada, enshrined in a Vihara, of which the door faced towards the north, and which Asoka appears to have built

near the royal precincts; for Hsien Tsiang says that he enclosed the stone of the footprint with the impression. The stone was 18 inches long by 6 inches broad, having still the traces of the two feet, with the circle sign and the ten toes, all fringed with the scrolls of flowers and fishes, which glisten brightly in the morning sun. Hsien Tsiang's *Life* adds that there was the 1,000, spoked wheel, and on each of the ten toes was the mark of the *svastika* (cross), flowers, vases, fish, &c. The tradition was that the Buddha stood on this stone while looking towards Magadha for the last time, and left the impression of his feet. Subsequent to the period of

the Mauryas, the kings of the neighbourhood tried to carry it away. "Lately Sasanka Raja," says Hiuen Tsiang, "when he was overthrowing and destroying the law of the Buddha, came here to deface the sacred marks and to throw it to the Ganges (?); but it came back to its old place," that is to say, it was brought back again by either Purna-varma or the Buddhists.

By the side of the Buddhapāda was a stupa where the four past Buddhas, previous to the historical one, walked and sat down. As there is a brick stupa still existing about a furlong on the north of the great stupa, called Bari Pahari, and just south of the northern village of Chhoti Pahari, presumably from the smaller stupa itself, I propose to identify it with that of the four past Buddhas. If this identification holds good, then the Jambudwipa pillar, the Vihara, and the two monasteries must be in the immediate neighbourhood of and between the two stupas of Bari and Chhoti Paharies, which are a long line of elevated tract, extending north to south. Just north of the big mound of Bari Pahari is a long piece of lesser height, on which the village now stands. North of this, again, the elevated tract is not occupied with any house. The village of Chhoti Pahari extends northward of the small stupa, it also showing some height, though less than that of the mound, now known as *Takia*. About 300 feet south and a little east of this stupa is another high mound, crowned by a figure of Mahadeva's *Linga*. This tract, therefore, appears to be a very promising field for excavation and discovery of ancient monuments.

I may note in passing that Dr. Waddell, seeing a large sandstone, which, to his eyes showed some defaced marks of the foot-impression, assumed Bulandibagh as the original site of the Buddhapada, which the bearings and distances of the Chinese pilgrims do not corroborate.

Fa Hian says that 300 or 400 paces north of the pagoda (Buddhapada Vihara?) was the town of Nili or Nilai, where Asoka was born, and which he re-built. He raised in the midst of it a stone pillar with a lion-capital and about 35 feet in height (Legge says "more than 20 feet"), and inscribed on its face the historical records of the origin and successive events connected with Nili, with the corresponding year, month and day. Hiuen Tsiang does not mention it. If I understand by the pagoda as the great stupa of Asoka, then the village of Chhoti Pahari might be the site of his birthplace. But the area here is too small for a royal palace. But if the pagoda is taken to mean the Vihara of the Buddhapada, then Nili or Nilai needs be looked for at Dhanki-Kumrahar, where still exists a tradition of the palace of Raja Nand Rai, and where, on the north, west and south, I have brought to light extensive buildings, most probably the out-houses of the palace, which itself lies under the village proper. This assumption satisfies all conditions; for Hiuen Tsiang records all bearings from the old palace, which I understand to be that of Nilai. Now the ancient name of Kumrahar—properly speaking, Kumharar, the royal concubine of the vase, about whom a tradition is still remembered—was Nemapur. Since the changing of *L* to *M* was not a difficult process in the deterioration of the vulgar pronunciation in the course of ages, the inference may not be far-fetched if I take Nema as the reminiscence of Nelai.

Besides the palace of Nili, Fa Hian mentions another, in the midst of the city, which was built of stones and showed wonderful carvings. But Hiuen Tsiang appears to notice only one palace, from which he gives the bearings of the other monuments. He does not, it seems, mention the city palace, which, according to the *Mudra Rāksasa*, a political drama on the attainment of the throne by Chandragupta and Chanakya, was called *Suganga Prāsāda*, adorned with lofty towers and bordering on the river.

To the north of the old palace was an uninscribed stone-pillar, marking the site of Kalasoka's "hell," or "earth-prison," by which I understand it to be a big jail. It was a large and square space, enclosed with high walls, with a strong and wide gate, within which was a flower and fruit garden, and provided with good ponds and beautiful alcoves. The jailor was a cruel man, who used to torment even innocent persons, and wanted to kill a Bhikshuka, who was, however, miraculously preserved. That monk converted Kalasoka, who at once destroyed the "hell" of torment, after which he sent for Upagupta. On the north-west of the village of Kumrahar, between two tanks, Kallu and Chāman, I exhumed, along with extensive brick buildings, innumerable fragments of an Asoka pillar, of which I could discover no inscribed portion. It may not, therefore, be doubted that here existed the "hell" of Kalasoka.

To the north of the old palace, but south of the "hell" was a great stone with a hollow trough in it, which was said to have been hollowed out by the genii for feeding the priests. By the genii or spirits, I understand the Yashkas, who were believed to be the divine workers, preceding the human artisans, as recorded by Taranath, the Tibetan historian.

To the north of the old palace was a large stone house, which looked outside like a great hill, and inside many tens of feet wide. Evidently inside means each face of the courtyard. This was the hermitage of the king's brother, Mehendra (? Vitasoka), which was built by Kalasoka through the agency of the genii, and probably after the model of the Griddhakuta hill at Rajgriha. At the base of the mountain, a rock-chamber, 35 feet in length, 22 feet wide and 11 feet high, was formed with five large and square stones. Legge says 30 x 20 x 10 cubits. The spirits were said to have made a great stone hill by piling up the stones, which they had brought at the king's invitation as their seats in the royal feasts. From the mention of Mahendra as the king's half-brother, I doubt that Dharmasoka's

Stupa of the four past Buddhas at Chhoti Pahari.

Town Nili and another inscribed pillar at Kumrahar.

"Hell" and a third pillar, on the north of Kumrahar.

Stone trough.

Mahendra's hermitage at Dargah Arzani.

son, who was sent to Ceylon, was meant. I take him to be Vitasoka, the brother of Kalasoka, who rebelled against his brother and then turned a great saint: see *Asokavadāna*.

By the old palace, Hiuen Tsiang presumably meant that at Nilai, for he does not give any indications that we should go to the city to look for it. About three furlongs north of Kumrahār is a very large mound, on which the Dargah of Shah Arzani now stands, and on the north of which is a mohalla (ward) still remembered as Mahendru. I propose to identify this Dargah as the ancient site of Mahendra's hermitage (see Plate V for the position of the Dargah). Here some stone relics, consisting of rail posts, a finely carved pillar with shell characters, a few winged lions of the conventional style, and some human statues, have been found. Here is also said to be a stone chamber, underneath the graveyard, which extensively covers this mound. Dr. Waddell, in his monograph on Asoka's classic capital, supposed the Dargah to be the city palace.

With great ingenuity, Dr. Waddell philologically argued that since Bhiknāpāhāri, which is more than a mile north-west of the Kumrahār palace, means evidently the hill of the Bhiksuka (monk), Mahendra's hermitage must have been here; more so as a so-called model of the Gridhakuta, which was originally on the top of the big mound, is now worshipped by the low-class people as Bhikna-kumar, the monk-prince. It is now a short distance north-east of the mound. But the identification of Bhiknapahadi as Mahendra's hill falsifies Hiuen Tsiang's bearings. The Mohalla Mahendru is closer to the Dargah than to the Bhiknāpāhāri, which did not yield any stone relics to my excavation.

To the south-west of the old palace was a little hill, in the crags and surrounding valleys of which were several tens of stone dwellings, which Asoka Upagupta's hermitage at Bahadurpur. Raja (? Kalasoka) constructed for Upagupta and other Arhats by the intervention of the Yashkas. There is no elevated spot or mound south-west of of Kumrahār, except a very insignificant one at Bewa-dih, which does not serve the purpose of our identification. But if I take the south-west for simply west, then the mounds of Bahadurpur, which abounds with rough-hewn stones, capitally coincide with the description; for here are ditches and a central tank known as Kundwa, which might represent the remains of the ancient crags and valleys. On the slopes of the big mound there were, I presume, small caves or cells, faced with stones. The annual inundations during the rainy season compelled the inhabitants to construct their houses on high mounds, which they found available in their settlement and which they flattened for the purpose; so that the highest flood could not reach them. That is the reason why the Chinese pilgrims characterised the mounds of ancient debris as mountains, and now known as Pahari, Panch Pahari, Chhoti Pahari, Bari Pahari, Bhikna Pahari.

By the side of the hermitage of Upagupta was an old tower (stupa) the ruins of which was a mass of heaped-up stones, and near which was a tank held sacred by the people, who used to bathe there to wash away their sins. The pond, which they called the "sacred water," exhibited gentle ripples, which played over its surface as pure as a mirror. Here Kundwa, in the centre of the village, might be the sacred tank; for *Kunda* in *Sanskrit* means a sacred reservoir. In that case, the western mound might be the site of the neighbouring stupa, where I partially excavated and traced some brick remains. If the Kundwa and the western mound do not hold good, then about a furlong north of Bahadurpur is another village known as Rampur, on the south and south-west of which are two small tanks. I have partly excavated them and exhumed ancient remains, chiefly wooden. Since the southern tank has undoubtedly a drain underneath its bed, it cannot be the sacred tank. But the south-western one, called Pān-bharni (literally meaning full of water), was evidently held important in ancient days, for here the slopes are banked up with brick walls, and its bed made pucca by the pavement of square bricks, below which I brought to light a ruined wooden structure of the ancient period. This tank might then be the identical pond. As to the stupa, the high gymnasium which is just south of the village, and underneath which I traced remains of stones and bricks, might be its representative. There is a large tank, called Gun-sar or Gangasagar, south of the Dargah Arzani, which Dr. Waddell seems to think as the sacred pond of Hiuen Tsiang, but it does not fulfil bearings given by the pilgrim.

To the south-west of the mountain, that is, the hermitage of Upagupta, which I tentatively assign at Bahadurpur, was a collection of five stupas which at a little distance looked like little hills, and of which the lofty foundations were ruinous. These five stupas were said to be the last ones, built by Asoka with exceptional grandeur over the remaining five measures of relics, as typical of the five spiritual bodies of the Buddha. Some held them to be the treasures of Nanda Raja, which subsequently a covetous king wanted to open. On the south-west of Bahadurpur is a garden, known by the name of Laskari Bibi, whose grave is here. Here are two mounds, large and small. The smaller, but higher, mound is still of the stupa form, about 500 feet south-west of which, and at Jogipura, is a third, near which was found, year before last, a carved architrave of the Maurya period. The first and the larger mound in the garden was flattened into a rectangular plan for the purpose of a graveyard. This probably represents the ruins of three stupas, the other two, of Laskari Bibi and of Jogipura, serving as the fourth and the fifth.

To the south-east of the old city was the Sanghārāma of Kukkutarama, which was built by Asoka Raja, as a sort of first-fruit and a pattern of majestic construction and lofty building, when he became a believer in the doctrine of the Buddha. In the *Asokavadāna* (Mitra's *Indo-Aryans*, volume II, page 498), Kukkuta-Vihara is referred to as in a garden, called Upakanthikarama, on the right bank of the Ganges, near the city of Pataliputra. This monastery was long in

ruins, probably since 436 A.D., when Arhat Kasypa left it for Tibet, but the foundation wall existed at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit. By the side of the Sanghârâma was a great stupa, called Amalaka (ribbed melon), which was used as a medicine in India. Asoka built this stupa, when he recovered from a long sickness, as a mark of gratitude to the Sthavira, who blessed him at the time his majesty presented an Amalaka fruit, the only article he possessed at the time of his poverty.

Amalaka stupa.

North-west of the Amalaka was another stupa, known as "establishing the Ghanta," in commemoration of striking the bell, after twelve years' silence, by Aryadeva, who defeated the heretics of the Vaisâli sect. This Ghantâ stupa was in the middle of an old Sangharama. To the north of it was the old foundation of a ruined house, where a Brahman under the influence of a spirit, and within a curtain, used to defeat all learned men, until Asvaghosha, versed in the three vehicles, little, great and middle, silenced him.

Ghantâ stupa.

I have not yet found an opportunity to examine the mounds on the south and east of Patna, recently under water, where presumably the above ruins lie imbedded in the soil. I have heard of some mounds and three blocks of ancient wood, called *katus* here, which are deep under soil at Ranipur, and which need be excavated next working season.

Leaving the south-west corner of the city and going about 200 *li* (paces, in the French translation), Hiuen Tsiang saw an old ruined Sanghârâma, by the side of which was a stupa, that was held so sacred, that people from far and near used to come and pray here. There were also traces of the four past Buddhas. Beal proposes to correct the 200 *li* to 10 *li* from the south-west angle of the city. If it is so, then I can easily identify the remains at Lohanipur, where I brought to light some remains of a large terrace, stone railings, an Asoka (Maurya) pillar, and some remains of brick buildings. But if Lohanipur itself is taken as the south-west corner of the old Pataliputra, as evidenced from the wooden remains, then Naoratanpur will serve well for the location of the monuments mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang on this side.

As to the position of the city palace, probably called *Suganga*, from a good and commanding situation on the high bank of the Ganges, I at first inclined to Dr. Waddell's identification of Dargah Arzani.

But since I propose to identify it with Mahendra's hill, it is necessary that some other and better site is sought for. I have come to know, on enquiry, that at Kallu Khan's Bagh, Sadar gali, Patna, and in the Zenana of Maulvi Mahammad Kabir and Amir, is an Asoka (Maurya) pillar, several feet below the courtyard, which, when opened two years ago, was so thick that two men, joining their hands together, could not measure its girth. Along with the pillar were the remains of a wooden structure in which the eel beams were laid crosswise. Since it is natural to suppose that the king, who raised colossal pillars everywhere, even at the suburb of Nili, where he was born, must have erected one to heighten the importance of his city palace. I suspect that the palace site might be close by in the Sadar gali, presumably the high road of the ancient city.

Mr. McRindle, in his translation of Megasthenes' *Indica*, page 206, states that "during the cold season of 1876, while digging a tank in Shaik Mithia Ghari, a part of Patna, almost equally distant from the Chauk (market-place) and the railway station, the excavations, at a depth of some 12 or 15 feet below the swampy surface, discovered the remains of a long brick wall, running from north-west to south-east. How far this wall extended beyond the limits of the excavation,—probably more than a hundred yards—it is impossible to say. Not far from the wall and almost parallel to it was found a line of palisades, the strong timber of which it was composed, inclined slightly towards the wall. In one place there appeared to be a sort of outlet, for two wooden pillars rising to a height of 8 or 9 feet above what had evidently been the ancient level of the place, and between which no palisade could be discovered, had all the appearance of door or gate posts. A number of wells and sinks were also found, their mouths being indicated by heaps of fragments of broken mud vessels. From the best preserved specimens of these it appeared that their shape must have differed from that of those now in use. One of the wells having been cleared out, it was found to yield capital drinking water, and, among the rubbish taken out of it, were discovered several spear-heads, a fragment of a large vessel, &c." (pages 207-208).

This palisade and brick wall at Mangal Talao might have formed the southern outskirts of the imperial buildings, which must have been very extensive. There are several elevated spots and high grounds in and near Patna, which are promising fields for excavation. That



the palace must have been somewhere here will be evident from what Bigandet records in his "Legend of Gaudama," for he says that, while Nigrodha, coming from Varuna's monastery, and entering the city through the southern gate, was going towards the eastern gate to see his mother at Dountsanka, which was on the east of Pataliputra, Asoka saw him from the lion gate of his palace. This shows that the palace was on the side of the road, which passed from the south gate to the eastern one. The site north-east of Patna, and now known as Killa, was evidently the *lot* (citadel) of the *Suganga* palace, where most probably Ajatasatru and Udayin constructed the first *Nagaram*. In the Chinese account of the third century A.D. a winding street, one *li* in length, which forms the market, applies to the present

Chauk, on the north of which presumably was the palace.

CHAPTER III.—EXCAVATIONS.

The sites where I excavated from December 1896 to the second week of June 1897, with the exception of one month, when I was deputed to the Champaran Tarai, were Kumráhar, Nawátolá, Bulandibagh, Rámpur and Bahádurpur, Bhiknápahári, Lohanipur, Jamunah dhih and Naoratanpur. Of these, Kumráhar had the largest share of my attention; and here I did a greater amount of excavation than in any other site.

On minutely examining the grounds at Kumráhar, I saw indications of walls on the south bank of the Kallu Talao and on the west bank of Chaman tank. The site between these two tanks is proposed by me to be identified with the "earth-prison" of Kalasoka. On commencing excavations at these places, on 9th December 1896, I succeeded in exposing before long the remains of ancient walls, which I at once followed up. By the end of February, I cleared, at Kallu tank, 200 feet east to west and about 20 feet north to south and about 10 feet deep, and thus brought to light a series

of rooms, or rather cells, on the south of which was a sort of drain about 1 foot 6 inches in breadth (see Plates VII and VIII for plan and sections). The cells are about 8 feet north to south, and between 8 feet 6 inches and 5 feet east to west. The breadth of the walls is about one foot, composed of single bricks set in mud in each course, each brick being 1 foot 6 inches long by 1 foot broad, and between 1½ and 3 inches in thickness. The thinner bricks were used in larger numbers. The thicker bricks are seen in the western walls, which appear to me to be the more ancient. Since no openings were found in the cells, I conclude that these were accessible from the roof, in the same way as was discovered in the monastery of Sultanganj. Below the foundation wall, I discovered a large fragment

of a Maurya pillar, about 3 feet in diameter. I also found several smaller fragments, especially on the floor of the western cells, which appear to have been paved with them. This fact shows that this structure must have been built after the destruction of the pillar. The courses of some of the cross walls are bent towards the tank, which proves the pre-existence of the tank, subsequently known as the Kallu Talao, presumably from a Muhammadan name.

On my return from Champaran, I continued the excavation, following the walls towards the south, where I had observed before that they penetrated further. And on the west I wanted to dig near a well in the garden, where I detected some masonry exactly in line with the northern wall of the exposed building. But the proprietor did not permit me to do so. This promising part of the remains, therefore, is still unexposed.

Continuing the excavations on the south of the tank (see Plate IX), I traced the more ancient portion of the monument; for here the walls were thicker and the foundations were about 12 feet below the present level of the ground. The bricks also showed great age by their very pinkish colour, and some of them were of greater dimensions than even the larger ones mentioned before. At right angles to the series of cells so far as I exposed, and on its western end, I traced a second series of rooms of better construction towards the south, for a length of 89 feet; the main wall having cross walls, which branched off towards the west. Here I found a curious passage, between two walls, and 2 feet 1 inch and 3 feet 3 inches in breadth. It is 21 feet 4 inches south of the northern range of cells. East of this narrow passage is a sort of flight of steps, made of large bricks. Here also fragments of the Asoka pillar were found. The rooms were of greater dimensions than the northern cells, of which the walls extended towards the garden, where I was not allowed to dig. A copper coin, belonging to Chandra Gupta II, bust type, with a peacock on the reverse, was found here.

Forty-seven feet south of the excavated area described above, and see plan, and west of a dilapidated Muhammadan tomb, called Makbarah, I traced other walls, going further south and west. On the north of the tomb, I dug, about 13 feet deep, an area of 30 feet and more east to west, and 40 feet or so north to south. Seeing a wall which is at right angles to others here, going underneath the tomb, I drove a tunnel and followed it up to its termination, just below the cell of the grave. In this tunnel I found several fragments of the Asoka pillar. But on the north of the tomb the stone fragments increased in number and size, of which three were between 2 and 3 feet in length and diameter. Below a stratum of yellowish or rather reddish soil, and about 10 feet deep, I came across a layer of blackish earth, composed of ashes, embers, and bits of lime, between 1 and 2 feet in depth. In this blackish stratum the stone fragments of the pillar were invariably found (see Photo: plate IXa). I then began tunneling the black stratum at the sides of the pit I had dug, especially towards the north and the east, and brought to light innumerable fragments, large and small. In the northern tunnel I alighted on a heap of the stone fragments, of which some were more than 3 feet in height and diameter. The polished surface of all these fragments looked quite fresh and new. But no inscribed portion could I discover after all my attempts to search,—which fact reminded me that the Chinese pilgrim did not mention the prison pillar as inscribed.

The fact of these pillar fragments being invariably found here in a layer of blackish soil below a reddish stratum, more or less 10 feet in depth, proves that the pillar might have most probably been destroyed by massing round it fuel, dry leaves and grass to a great height, which were set on fire. The *Lát* fell off by pieces and fragments, the smallest bits being burnt to lime, a slow, inexpensive, but expeditious way of destruction, resorted to by a vandal hand of antiquity, most probably Raja Sasanka Deva of Karna-Suvarna, whom Hsien Tsiang mentions as invading Magadha and breaking down Buddhist monuments.

On the west of the Chaman Talao is a high mound of ancient debris, now covered with Muhammadan graves (Plate X). I began digging on the bed of the last year's excavation, and before long traced two parallel-walls which extended westward underneath the mound, and which I followed up by tunnelling to a length of about 30 feet (Plate XI). The two parallel walls, of which about 70 feet I traced, appear to have formed an ancient drain, 5 feet 6 inches in breadth, through which the sewage of the neighbouring buildings must have flowed, for I found black silt between them. Above these two parallel walls, I traced two others, or rather two edges of one wall, 4 feet 3 inches in thickness, which appears to have been constructed after the drain was destroyed and forgotten. And subsequently, when this latter was again in ruins, bricks were taken out by some village vandals of old. Since then, debris and earth have accumulated to a height of about 10 feet. This fact shows the great age of even this latter wall. Here also the lower wall showed better masonry.

Thinking the mound to be the remains of a stupa—for a carved coping-stone of a Buddhist railing is close by—I employed men to dig on the southern slope. Going down 10 feet, I cleared some walls and a sort of small drain, round a carved wall, which I took to be the foundation of the ancient stupa. Near it a niche, or something like it, was traced. I could not, however, continue this interesting discovery, for the Muhammadans objected to my so doing. Noticing that their graves did not go beyond 5 feet below the surface, I sprang a tunnel about 12 feet below, and towards the north. On the northern slope also, I dug a pit, whence another tunnel was pushed on to meet the southern one. I succeeded in doing so after a month of hard labour by four diggers. Midway I traced a wall; but the whole length is full of rubble bricks, of which the bottom I could not reach. I am certain, however, that the most promising stratum remains untouched about 15 feet below. A very interesting head of a Varāha (boar), in terracotta, and a large number of *jhama* (fire-bricks?) were brought out from this tunnel.

On the east side of the mound was cleared a terrace, about 5 feet below the top, which showed pukka floor. And on the west, about 30 feet from the mound, Mr. Mills had traced another terrace before I came here; it was 5 feet below the field. South of the mound, I cleared a third terrace, near the fragment of a carved coping-stone, which is under a big tamarind tree. Further south of the terrace and in the garden of the Muhammadan zamindar, I dug deep and cleared, 12 feet below the level of the ground, a wall 8 feet long by 4 feet 9 inches wide, of which the bricks were 1' 1" x 10" x 4", and which appeared to be of the most ancient period and style. About 150 feet north-east of this wall, I cleared a large space to expose a terrace, of which I could not find out the limit. In this locality a very interesting statue of the Maurya style was discovered about 20 years ago (Plate L); it is a double figure of Maya devi, carved back to back on a post of probably a Buddhist structure, of which the two other sides show delineations of trees, mango and apple. The attitude of both the figures is similar, gracefully standing, and holding by their right hand the branch of a tree. It is now worshipped as Durukhia by the villagers at Nawatola, about two furlongs west of Kumrahar. Since no segmental holes of the horizontal bars are at the sides, I infer that it did not belong to a Buddhist railing, but might have most probably served the purpose of a post to place offerings on in front of a Buddha statue in a temple (Vihara) which must have stood somewhere near the Chaman Talao.

About 300 feet west of the Chaman mound is another of larger size, which is also covered with Muhammadan graves. As it appeared to be very promising, I dug pits at its northern and western sides and wanted to drive some tunnels about 10 feet underneath the stratum of graves. But the local Muhammadans raised great objections, and all my tact failed to secure the necessary permission. I had therefore to give up this work.

On the west of the village proper of Kumrahar, I carried on extensive excavations and brought to light a large number of ancient edifices, which from their depth and style of masonry appeared to be of two periods. The more ancient structures, which showed better masonry, were found between 10 to 12 feet below the present level of the fields, while those of comparatively lesser antiquity were traced about 5 feet below. These edifices appeared to be the out houses of the palace of Nili, where Asoka was born, and which most probably occupied the site of the present village.

Commencing my description from the west, the first vestige of antiquity that came to view in a garden of *Amrut* (Guava) was a long wall, 2' 2" broad and about 90 feet long, so far as I followed up. Its foundation was about 8' 6" below the present level of the soil. It turned towards the south; but I could not go further for want of means. About 100 feet north of this wall, vestiges of another wall was visible in a well, and 150 feet or so east of it. A third was detected in a second well, which I at once ordered to be followed up, at a short distance from it, in order not to damage it in any way. Going 10 feet down, I cleared a wall of the most ancient style, which showed batter (slope in a wall) and which extended north to south. Tracing it northward for about 45 feet from the well, I came across, on the north of the footpath, another wall, 4' 5" wide, which extended westward, 394 feet further east, and on the north of the footpath a third wall was traced, which went from west-south-west to east-north-east.

On the south of the footpath, and about 275 feet east of the last excavation near the well, I brought to light extensive buildings, of which a wall, 7' 6" broad, was cleared to a length of 125 feet east to west (*see* Plates XII, XIII, for plan and sections). At both of its ends several cross walls were found, going north to south. The eastern cross walls, three in number, showed deeper foundation and possessed masonry of a better style, apparently of the more ancient period. The rooms or rather cells, which were on the east, and of which three were exposed, were about 8' 6" \times 7' 6" in length and breadth. Just on the west side of them, I found a narrow passage, like the one on the north-east of the Mokarbah. About 25 feet south-west of the last excavation, I cleared another spot and brought to light the remains of a second edifice, of which the eastern portion appeared to be a stair, 11' 9" broad, which was constructed of very large bricks. A wall branched from it towards the north, west of which, but not parallel, runs a medieval wall, done in smaller bricks.

Peculiarity of the Maurya architecture.

About 40 feet east of the stair, another edifice was found, of which two walls about three feet wide, and at right angles to each other, extended south-west and north-west. One of the walls showed batter (slope in a wall), peculiar to the style of the Maurya architecture. From the meeting point of the two walls, that is to say, from the corner of the ancient chamber, extended a third wall of smaller bricks and undoubtedly of medieval age. On the south of these remains, and at a spot marked with a cross in the plan, I exhumed a large jar, octagonal in horizontal section, of which the like is not seen in the pottery of modern times. About 15 feet further east, I detected in an old well some masonry about 12 feet below the ground, and so digging a deep pit at a short distance from it, found some brick steps and a portion of another wall in front of it. A quantity of small stone slabs was also exposed on the north face of the pit.

Returning to the western end of the main wall, 7' 6" broad, which also possessed batter, three parallel cross walls were traced out at no great depth from the surface. Continuing my excavations southward, a wall, three feet wide, was traced to a length of 79 feet or so. This wall, with the subsidiary ones, east to west, was of very good masonry and appeared to be of the highest antiquity. At its northern end and on its east side was a room about 7' 9" in span; and, on the south and towards the west, some other rooms were discovered, which were not, however, fully cleared. The bricks were of very large size and became pinkish with great age. The foundation of the wall here was found 12 feet or so below the present level of the fields. Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, the Commissioner, who came here one morning of June last, was surprised to see the large number of ancient monuments, and exclaimed that this excavated area reminded him of Pompei and its streets of ruins.

On the south of the village of Kumrahar, brick masonry was detected by me in an old well called Khāri Kuyiañ, and about 20 feet below the present level of the fields (*see* Plate No. XIV for plan and sections and Plate XIVa for two Photos). In this neighbourhood, Mr. Mills had excavated in the hot season of 1896 and found a large amount of ancient *kauries* (shells).

I began excavating in January 1897, a short distance south of the well, and before ten feet depth was reached, a small cell, six feet square, was exposed to view. Clearing it all round, a terrace was found, south of the cell, being five feet below the level of the field. Five feet lower still, and a little eastward, I was glad to discover a fragment of a

Semi-cylindrical bricks.

Maurya pillar, below which a great number of semi-cylindrical bricks, 1 foot 6 inches long by 7 or 9 inches in diameter, and somewhat arranged in layers, were brought to light. These finds made me sanguine to look in the immediate neighbourhood for some important monuments, to which these peculiar bricks must have belonged, and which, however, I could not discover. Before I lighted on these finds, I cleared another cell just north of, and attached to, the other. The eastern wall of both the cells turned out to be quite a curve, sloping outwards as it went down. This observation led me to conclude that this might have been the portion of a bastion, most probably belonging to the royal palace, which existed in this neighbourhood. To trace this supposed bastion, I dug deep on the south-east of the curved wall, where, I found it broken and discovered the vase, an Asoka fragment, and the cylindrical bricks mentioned above. And so I stopped excavating below 17 feet, but continued probing at the foundation of the first-discovered cell, which I reached underneath a thick layer of broken pottery, at just 18 feet 6 inches below the present level of the ground. As to the terrace, I could not follow it southward, as there were crops standing at the time. But towards the east and north of the pit, I traced other walls, as shown in plan. The two cells appeared to be two sister wells or reservoirs. As to the cylindrical bricks, Mr. Glass, the Chief Engineer, who saw my collection of relics in December last, suggested that they might have served the purpose of coping to walls.

Subterranean rooms and passage.

I heard that at a short distance north-east of the two cells above-mentioned, and in the compound of a mud house, there is a subterranean passage which leads to several rooms, all now lying deep under the earth. My impression is that these remains might most probably belong to the royal palace, which I was in search of so long. But time and funds did not allow me to undertake this promising work.

In a milkman's house (Gowālā) on the east of the village, I excavated a small area down to 10 feet, and found some remains of walls and terrace. The stratum of land, here as elsewhere, was found to be formed of a thick *débris* of broken bricks, generally 10 feet in depth, below which I exposed actual remains of ancient monuments. In another Gowālā's house, I saw two walls going southward; but I did not find time and means to dig here.

About 400 feet west of the double well or reservoir, a cultivator, in digging a well in his field, cut out in pieces a quantity of ancient wood, which I thought to be the remains of an ancient palisade. It was found in a stratum of bluish and whitish soil, which is peculiar to river beds, as that of the Ganges. But I did not get an opportunity to dig and examine it.

Midway between the double village of Pahari and Kumrahar, and about 2 furlongs south-east of the latter, is a high and large mound, known as Patariya Dhih (dhih meaning mound) which is on the south of a marsh of the same name, Patariya (stony) *jhil*, so-called from a large number of gravels, which are found in this ancient bed of the Son and Punpun. It is also, like other mounds here, covered with Muhammadan graves. In the month of May, I ordered a small party of diggers to excavate it on its slope on the east, south and west. In a few days I was glad to discover an interesting *Linga* of Mahadeva in polished black stone with its *Argha* in sandstone, about 5 feet below the surface of the eastern slope and near a well. Going further down, some walls were traced. On the western side also some thick walls of the ancient type were found, about 12 feet below the top (*see* Plates II & XV).

On the north of the village of Pahari, I detected some thick walls in the fields, and about two furlongs east of the same village, the remains of a wooden palisade were noted, deep in a well. But funds did not permit me to undertake excavations in this tract, which appeared to be the most promising; for here were the two Stupas, two monasteries, a Buddhapada temple, and an inscribed pillar of Asoka, which the bearings and distances, recorded by the Chinese pilgrims, led me to search for. The two Stupas are there still, being high mounds, which Dr. Führer vandally excavated and failed to identify.

On the mound at Bari Pahari, which I think is the first Stupa erected by Asoka the Great, a trench, 12 and then 20 feet wide and 201 feet long, was commenced on 30th October 1894 (*see* Plate XV).

Destructive and useless excavations at the two Stupas at Pahari in 1895. It was driven directly to the northward to the very centre of the hill of solid brickwork, where the trench was widened to 40 by 34 feet. It was then carried down to a depth of 30 feet, and the central pit to 40 feet, where water prevented further deepening. But nothing of archaeological interest was brought to light. The excavation of the mound at Chhoti Pahari brought to light the core of the solid brickwork, more than 40 feet in diameter, which I propose to identify with the Stupa of the four past Buddhas mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. It appears that the bricks from the centre, where presumably was the relic chamber, were removed several centuries ago by the Muhammadan invaders of old. Subsequently, the hollow was filled up with rubble bricks to form a platform for the purpose of a gymnasium. After excavating down to 20 feet, original brickwork was found; this solid masonry was again dug into, 4 feet further deep. Altogether 24 feet of the existing Stupa was uselessly cut down under the supervision of a so-called expert, without the discovery of any relics.

This vandal and destructive excavation of two important monuments, which cost about Rs. 700, should never have been allowed by an expert, who is understood to be the chief archaeological authority in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Dr. Waddell severely criticised this costly but at the same time useless excavation. But my system of proceeding is quite different. I take a sort of religious care in preserving what I expose; and I am very strict in not allowing my men to break even detached bricks, for which purpose they had to use their spade very carefully. Thank God, not one relic of the many that I brought to light has been broken. My procedure is generally to work from the outside, following the remains by the edge of the walls, but at a short distance and then gently drawing nearer, so as to avoid all chances of breakage.

In closely examining the wells in the then dry bed of the Sewai tank, I detected in one, near the Sitala Devi temple (Plate XVI), the remains of some wooden structure, to open which I at once gave order in

Wooden remains under Sewai tank. April last. Ten feet below the bed of the tank, my men alighted on a layer of thick planks, spread over a bedding of brickwork and beams, of which I exposed a fragment before long. The fragment of the beam had a hole to receive the tenon of a post, which must have supported the ancient drain or palisade. But the blackish earth, composed of silt of ages, fell down in mass from the side of my pit, burying the Koolies who were working there, and whom I extricated with some difficulty, and at certain risk I took out the exposed woods from amidst water which had oozed out from below. I had therefore to give up the attempt of following and carefully examining this wooden structure, which appeared to extend east to west. Besides water percolated from all sides so rapidly that I could not properly sketch on the spot the portion I exposed. I took out the planks and the portion of the cross-beam that supported them, and rearranged them in the way found under water, as shown in the sketch. This is the only place where I took out ancient relics from *situ*.

Near the temple of Sitala Devi, just north-west of the wooden structure mentioned above, is a small collection of sculptured stones, of which one is a pretty face of the Buddha and another is a fragment of a railing, and a third a votive stupa (Plate LI). And in the temple of Siva, on the western bank whence the tank is known *Sewai*, are three more fragments of a Buddhist rail which exhibit interesting carvings. In the boss or medallion of one of them are two figures of husband and wife, standing in an amatory attitude. Another relic shows the defaced figure of a man standing. The *Linga* of Mahadeva, to whom the temple is dedicated, has the head of Parvati attached to it.

At the Agam Kuan, literally the fathomless well, is a headless female figure, carved in the style of Mayadevi at Nawatola, which appears to be of the Maurya period (Plate L Fig. 2). And the big well itself,

Agam Kuan.

of which the diameter is about 20 feet, has the stamp of a great age. This female figure, which has a modern and hideous head is now worshipped as Sitala Devi, the Goddess of small-pox.

On the north of the railway line and of Kumrahar is an ancient canal or jhil which, coming from the south-west corner of the Serai tank, extends towards the west for about 2,000 feet, along the southern edge of which I traced a long wall, 2 feet or so wide, and constructed of the usually large-sized bricks. The bed of the canal, northward from the wall, is paved with bricks. I could not determine to what length the wall extended. Between this canal and the distillery is a small plot of ground, where I heard that boat and *kalues* (literally, oilman's post), which name the villagers assign to the remains of the palisade, were found some years ago. I began to dig a pit to trace the latter; but I could not go down sufficiently deep when rain commenced and stopped my works. Between the canal and the railway I excavated a trench, about 150 feet east to west, to follow up a structure, of which I had discovered a vestige in a well. I went down to 10 feet and traced a wall, which appeared to be most ancient. And near it and a little eastward, but just below the surface of the field, I detected a large amount of brick masonry which appeared to be the remains of an ancient arch, the bricks being placed on the edge-to-edge principle. In the northern ditch of the Pipalpanti road, and on the north of Kumrahar, I detected walls and masonry, which, however, I did not find time to follow.

On the east of Kumrahar, is another village of smaller size, called Dhanki, which stands on high ground and the fields which are on the east of the local and ancient tank are very high. Here is a collection of ancient stone figures all broken and defaced. This locality, therefore, appeared to be very promising; and so I commenced digging a trial trench. But the rains prevented my digging a good length to discover anything.

North-west of Kumrahar and between the road and the railway, is a mosque of the Pathan period and a graveyard, which stand on ancient mound (Plate XVII). On the north of these and of the railway, some pits were sunk down in order to bring to view several posts of the palisade, which the villagers informed me were here about 15 feet below the ground level. I could not go beyond 10 feet when rain commenced. I, however, succeeded in exposing extensive buildings, both ancient and medieval, between 5 and 10 feet below the present level of the ground. By medieval I mean the period subsequent to the Maurya period, but long antecedent to the visit of Hiuen Tsiang in 637 A.D. The characteristics of the two periods of architecture here were the same as observed at Kumrahar.

On the west of the village of Nawatala there is a large tank, apparently very ancient, and now known by the name of Waris Ali Khan, who presumably once repaired it along with the ghât (Plate XVIII). The ghât is just below a high mound which is covered with Muhammadan graves. It is on the eastern bank of the tank. I excavated the western face of the mound and exposed both Hindu and Muhammadan remains. The remains of the Muhammadan ghâts showed masonry of small bricks, cemented with *sarki* (brick-dust) and lime, while the more ancient Hindu structure was made of the usual layers of very large bricks laid in mud (see Photograph XVIII). The Muhammadan ghât appeared to be flanked by octagonal bastions, inside which were Hindu walls and terraces, one above another. But before long I stopped this work; for just on the north side of the tank and of the road (Pipalpanti), I discovered a series of very interesting ghâts, which at once engrossed my attention in this neighbourhood.

Between the railway and the road, and just beyond the northern ditch, I detected some bricks in a pit of a brickfield, and about 15 feet below (see Plate XIX for plan and sections). After clearing it to a certain extent, I found it continuous and rising in a slope. I then began to dig in the other pits running parallel to the ditch and in a line with the first wall discovered. After a month's hard labour, I cleared out a series of small Ghâts, at short distances from one another, the intervening spaces being occupied and strengthened with three parallel and curtain walls, the highest, that is, the southern wall, being continuous. These flights of steps face towards the north, and are constructed of both horizontal and vertical layers of brick, each ghât being flanked by curtain walls to limit and strengthen it. The formation of the soil, so far as I went down, was composed of three strata; the first is reddish soil, about 10 feet deep, below which is a layer of large and yellowish sand, about 2 feet deep. Below the sandy stratum is that of black soil, about 1 foot thick, below which again was seen the sand. Here water prevented me from going further down, and so I could not open and examine the lower portion of the ghâts.

I traced this series of ghâts for a length of more than 700 feet, east to west, beyond which I did not go, and so cannot say how far it extends. Now the yellowish large sand is peculiar to the river Son, and since the villagers in the neighbourhood remember a tradition that the Son used to flow here in ancient time, I did not feel any difficulty in identifying the ghâts as belonging to that river, which here, during the Maurya period, served as the ditch of Palibothra, 600 feet wide. Among these steps and walls, I found the fragment of the largest brick I have yet seen in the ruins of this great city.

About 500 feet north of these ghâts and the railway is a site, known as Bulandibagh, so called from its eminence. Here under a palm tree was a block of rough stone which showed to the eyes of Dr. Waddell some faint trace of a foot, and hence identified by him as the very Buddhapada mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. Accordingly, on the expectancy of discovering the neighbouring monuments, as shown in the Doctor's pamphlet, Mr. Mills

drove two long trenches, at right-angles to each other, about 6 feet wide and 10 feet deep, and discovered a most interesting capital of the Maurya style of sculpture (Plate XLVII). It is in yellowish sandstone and very large in size, the different faces showing ornaments of honey-suckle, guilloche and other decorated bands (*see* illustration). Near it was found another big but rough block of stone of the same kind, which appears to have been intended for another capital, but for some unknown reason was left unhewn. Near it was traced some terrace made of rubbles and *sarki* on a bedding of bricks. Mr. Mills also found five copper coins, of which two were rectangular and punch-marked, one Chinese being circular with a hole in the centre, and two Muhammadan known as Madhusahi. I widened Mr. Mills' excavations, exposing other terraces and walls; but not finding very promising, I stopped this work before long.

About 1,000 feet west of the *Son ghâts* and at Daudbigah, I detected some wood in a well, to open which I at once gave orders (Plate XX). About 20 feet below the soil a wooden post was exposed, standing on a thick plank. Above this, a thick layer of broken vessels, about 2 feet in depth, was cut through. And on the west a thick wall with great batter and the remains of a stair were exhumed. The large bricks were very pinkish in colour, which showed great antiquity. There was another wall, running westward and parallel to it. I could not continue this very interesting excavation, for firstly my funds ran short, and secondly I could not get sufficient number of Koolies to work on simultaneously at some fifty places in the months of May and June.

Wooden and brick remains at Daudbigah.

In the garden, known as Laskari Bibi, I dug in December 1896 into a stupa-like mound which is surmounted by her grave. I succeeded in tracing some small walls, which, however, I did not continue. North of this mound is a large, elevated and rectangular piece of ground, which is also covered with graves. I examined it by digging a trial trench on its east side. But the little I excavated did not yield any remains. About 500 feet south-west of the conical mound is another in the mauza of Jogipura, where Mr. Mills' men had found an interesting architrave, which is carved with ornaments in one face. These mounds are proposed by me as the site of the last five stupas erected by Asoka.

Stupa at Laskari Bibi.

About a furlong north-east of Laskari bibi is the village of Bahadurpur, which stands on an extensive mound, and which I propose to identify as the hermitage of Upagupta. On the west of the village is another mound, which I excavated to a limited extent and exposed a number of rooms and walls, as also some terracotta. In the eastern ditch of the village, I detected some wooden remains, to expose which I began to dig in June. I exposed a series of wooden posts, which most probably belonged to the same drain that Mr. Mills' men had discovered in May 1896, midway between here and Rampur. An interesting ear ornament, which was gilded with gold leaf, was found in the stratum of silt, which has accumulated during ages. I could not make much progress, when the rains commenced and inundated the tract between Bahadurpur and Rampur.

Midway between Bahadurpur and Rampur a cultivator informed Mr. Mills' men that there were *kalues* underneath the field. On this information, he ordered excavation without delay in May 1896.

Wooden remains at Bahadurpur and Rampur.

Twelve feet below the field level, a wooden structure was seen, which, on farther opening, was found to be a drain constructed with beams and posts on a bedding of bricks. All the timbers, consisting of 50 beams and unnumbered posts, were removed to his bungalow, of which but a few now remain. It was worse than useless thus vandally to destroy an ancient monument of undoubtedly the Maurya period, and then to turn the exhumed wood as fuels for burning. Mr. Mills traced the drain for a length of about 200 feet, when rain stopped his work. A rough drawing was made by his sub-overseer, which I found to be not much reliable, and a tracing of which is submitted herewith.

I had therefore to continue the work, when I returned from Champaran, by sinking wells at short distances, beyond the portion Mr. Mills had examined. I also dug a small pit down to about 13 feet, in order to examine minutely the strata of the soil and the nature of the wooden structure. I could not, however, find the kind of construction that

Drain.

he had discovered. But instead, I found, below 13 feet, a drain 7 feet 6 inches broad and 3 feet high, which had two brick walls, sloping down innerward, and the bed of the channel paved with bricks, 11 inches square (Plates XXI, XXV, for plan and section). Above the brick walls, planks of *sâl-wood* (*soreu robusta*), between 2 and 3 inches thick, were spread on the roof of the drain. In carefully opening one plank, about one foot broad, I found the channel filled with black mud, the silt of ages. It gave me the greatest trouble to preserve the woods. When I exposed them, the woods looked quite fresh and new. But after a little exposure to sun and air they began to crack and split to a frightful degree. I had therefore to cover them with moist earth, after quickly measuring and sketching them. I traced the drain for a length of about 1,000 feet, when rain prevented my proceeding further. The drain extends north and a little west from south and a little east, coming from the direction of the palisade I discovered on the east of the village of Bahadurpur.

The portion that Mr. Mills exhumed and removed was 33 feet long, and showed a kind of construction different from what I brought to light, being more complicated than mine (Plates XXII, XXIII, and XXIV for site, plan, and two sections). Stout cross-beams, 5' 8" x 8" x 8", were laid across two dwarfish walls or rather beddings of bricks, and were supported at the sides by retaining posts 6 feet 2 inches high

and 8" x 8" in breadth and thickness. The walls of the drain were also constructed of thick blocks of wood 9 inches thick, and made almost water-tight by fine setting one above another. On these two walls was a roofing of wooden blocks about 1 foot in thickness, done in the same manner I discovered in the drain palisade at Lohanipur, described further on. The blocks of wood laid longitudinally in the walls, flooring and roofing, were between 17' x 11½" x 8" and 16' x 9" x 8" in dimensions (Plates XXVI and XXVII).

About 100 feet west of the drain is a small tank known as Pán-bharni, in the dry bed of which I detected wood in April last (Plate XXV). On digging only a foot or two I found the remains of a wooden structure which extended from east to west, the western portion being under a pavement of bricks, where two beams were seen, of which one showed tenon in its western end to fit in the hole of the other. Here the earth appeared to be hard and reddish; while in the old bed of the tank the silt showed to be black and soft. About 25 feet further west, I sank a well to trace the wooden structure as to its length. But though I went down to the water-level, about 12 feet, I did not find any remains, the soil here being quite reddish. On the north of the ruined remains, I found two round posts, and further northward two others in a line with them. On clearing the embankment on the south, east and north, some sloping walls were traced out, as also a bedding of square and large bricks. Beneath the first layer of fallen timbers of sál, which I removed for better custody, was exposed another layer which also extended east to west. In this layer was seen bamboos, still standing as originally fixed, which supported the wooden walls. In the second layer of wooden remains was found an axe, with which the carpenters of old were no doubt working when it accidentally fell and was lost.

On the north and a little west of the long drain, I detected wood in April last in the then dry bed of a tank just south of the village of Rampur (see Plate XXVIII for plan and section). On clearing the muddy earth, a wall of wooden planks, three inches thick, was brought to light. Going 13 feet down, and making a pit of about 20 feet square, I found the wooden structure to be of peculiar construction. Two beddings of sál timber, parallel to each other from east to west, and each 1' 6" broad by about 6" thick, were placed 4' 4½" apart, on which stout posts, about one foot square, stood to strengthen and flank two parallel walls of planks. The latter walls stood on an upper bedding of wood, 2' 6" above the lower, being four blocks of wood laid in a rectangle, 4' 9" by 3' 9", over which, on the north and south faces, the plank wallings were raised to a height of about 8 feet. Another plank walling was traced from the south-west corner of the structure and over the upper bedding. It extended towards the north, but how far I could not determine; it being completely in ruinous condition. West of this ruined walling were found other blocks of wood which also extended north to south.

On the east and north of the rectangular structure, other beams, going north to south, and at different levels below the tank bed, were also cleared. Since I cleared only a small area, I could not determine how far all these beams and beddings extended in different directions. The plan, section, and view, herewith enclosed, will convey a better idea of the structure, which appears to be quite unique. Two axes and a nail with two points at one end were here found, about 10 feet below the tank bed. One of the axes has its hole fossilified, indicating the great age it was buried.

In tracing the long drain from near Bahadurpur, I came to the very centre of the tank bed, and only about 15 feet east of the above structure, when rain stopped my work; and I could not properly examine how it was connected with the rectangular structure or where it terminated. Here was one of the most interesting points of ancient architecture, which rain prevented me from opening and studying.

Bhiknapahari is a very large mound, about three furlongs north-west of Rampur.

About 200 years ago an officer of Ali Verdi Khan, the Nawab Nazim, came here and removing the model hill,

known and worshipped as Bhikna Kumar, which was on the top and on the north-west corner, built here his house, which his descendants now occupy (see Plate XXIX). Getting permission from them with great difficulty, I excavated at four places on the west side of the mound, one pit on the north and another on the east. These excavations showed that the mound is very thickly composed of brick rubble and debris of ancient buildings. The pit, on the northern slope, was dug down to 6 feet, when the Nawab objected to my cutting further. The pit, marked B in the plan, exposed a wall, which extended north-east to south-west, 17 feet below the surface (Plate XXX). Two terraces were also traced, one 15 feet below, and the other at the middle height of the slope, of which I had detected the edge from outside. In the trench marked C, 30 feet long and 6 feet wide, I dug down to more than 15 feet; nothing was found, except rubble and debris, among which an interesting brick, carved with scrolls on one face, was discovered.

The trench, marked D (see Plates XXXI and XXXII for plan and sections), 40' long, 14' wide, and 17' 7" deep, was the most fruitful of architectural finds. 12' 4" below the present plateau of the mound, two parallel walls were exposed; and going 6' 6" deeper, I cleared what appeared to be a narrow passage, 4' 2" wide and 14' 6" long, east to west. Its floor was pucca, being made of concrete. On the east end the passage was shut out by a wall, beyond which I was not permitted to dig. At the western end of the passage, the floor goes down by one foot more; and 6' 6" westward I traced a wall of the most ancient pattern going north to south. Above the southern wall of the passage rose another wall like a step. Here below I suspected a hollow or well, just behind the first southern wall, which, no sooner I cleared the wall, made the horizontal courses of the bricks sink down and thus ruin a portion of the masonry. I could not,

however, examine the nature of this hollow or well. The western ends of the two walls of the passage appear to have been broken by some vandals of old, the broken ends of the bricks looking quite fresh, as if done yesterday. There were seen the vestiges of other walls above the two passage walls; and above the western end of the southern wall I saw thick layer of *surki* (brickdust), cemented in a way, or material, I could not determine, for lime was not discovered in any part of the ancient structure here.

The pit marked E was dug on the south-west corner of the mound. It showed a terrace of *surki* and some walls going eastward; I could not determine how far. The southernmost of these walls shows some indentations in the plan, indicating that this structure was most probably a temple. Had I been permitted to excavate further eastward, I would have struck at the main building. Here I found a terracotta figure and a crystal.

In pit marked G, I found a wall and two wells about 10 feet below an inclined terrace, which appear to have been constructed long after the ruin of the Maurya monument.

From these excavations, which were done on the slopes of the mound, it is reasonable to expect very promising results, if the main structure is exposed, at least partially. During the mutiny of 1857, the Nawabs excavated some deep holes to hide their treasures, and struck at several walls at certain depth below the present surface of the mound. Some peculiarities of construction were found in the remains of ancient architecture I exposed.

The most successful place after Kumrahar was undoubtedly Lohanipur; for here on the

Lohanipur.

site of the ancient *garh*, I found several important remains, two Maurya pillars of the Asoka style, one big terrace, a Buddhist railing and a wooden palisade with drain underneath. (See map in Plate VI and sketch-plans in Plate XXXIII.) On the north-east of the village, I detected a long terrace in a ditch which spreads east to west for about 300 feet. This terrace was peculiar in construction; the first layer was a bedding of three bricks, above which was rammed a layer of *surki* and *khoa* (broken bricks in small fragments). Above this again was another layer of pure lime in solid pieces, not powdered, again rammed and properly levelled. This terrace was traced 2 feet 6 inches below the present level of the field.

In exposing the terrace on the north of the ditch, I succeeded in discovering the remains of a so-called Buddhist railing of a plain style, of which five posts are still *in situ*, and five more removed before to

Terrace and railing.

a neighbouring well. It must have enclosed a stupa or other Buddhist monument, which, however, I could not find. The posts were about 1' 6", more or less, were apart from one another, 8½" in breadth and 6½" in thickness, their upper portion being broken. I could not ascertain their original height. But from the existing portion, which is about 2' 6" in height, I can calculate it to be about 4 feet, for the segmental hole is 7½" high by about 3" wide, and the interval between the two, 2½", total 10". Now remembering that there were three horizontal bars attached to the posts, we get the total height for the former as about 28½ inches, and, for the whole, about 3 feet above the terrace. Of the horizontal bars, two fragments were also found, which fit in the holes at the sides of the posts. The posts were fixed about 1' 3" deep in the terrace above mentioned. After sketching and taking measurements of the existing posts, which formed the north-east corner of the rail enclosure, that was rectangular, I covered them again with earth for safe custody.

About three hundred feet south-west of the railing, I cleared a spot and traced the remains of houses, chiefly of the medieval period, about 3 feet below the present field level. Here I found several ancient beads and coins, mostly punch-marked, and one *Gupta* (Chandragupta II). Some tales, backed with silver leaves, were also discovered, being mixed with blackish soil.

About 25 feet south-west of the last remains and below other remains of brick houses I went down to about 10 feet, when I found a layer of bones about 6" thick, which probably belonged to buffaloes and cattle, and which were almost fossilified with age. About one foot below still I was glad to expose several large fragments of a Maurya pillar, more than 3 feet in diameter. (Plate XXXIV.) Among them was found prostrate a small column, about 8 feet in length. A large number of spotted gravels, cut into flat pieces and highly polished, were also taken out. Some of the gravels showed circular holes, which happily struck Mrs. Bourdillon as indicative of stone bangles, of which I found one broken piece here. I could not take out the big fragments of the Asoka pillar and the small column, and so, on the advent of the rains, I had to fill up the pit for the purpose of cultivation.

About 250 feet west of the last pit, I sank another about 12 feet deep, and was glad to alight on the top of the capital of the Asoka pillar, whose diameter is 3' 7½". On clearing it further the capital appeared to be of a flattened vase form, in the centre of which was a hole for the reception of the mortise of the lion or some other animal, which must have originally crowned the pillar. Innumerable fragments of it, besides the capital, were found in the pit, some of which showed ornamental bands of lotus petals and guilloche. On the north side of the pit, I traced a wall about 5 feet below the present soil, which traversed northward to a length I could not determine. The base of the capital is square, being 3' 6" on each of the faces, of which one has an ornament of lotus, flowers or inscription in shell or cup-mark characters, which no scholar has yet deciphered. I succeeded in taking up the capital and other fragments with the aid of the railway Koolies.

Capital.

About two furlongs south of these excavations, I heard of a wooden remains in the well of a *mochi's* house. (Plate XXXV for plan and section.) On going down 18' 6" below the very hard earth, which I had to cut through with some difficulty,

Wooden palisade and drain.

my men alighted on the vestiges of a palisade, at the bottom of which was the drain. It extended north to south, which I followed up to a length of about 35 feet by tunnelling at the two sides of the pit. Two parallel lines of *sal* posts, 3' 6" from each other, ran north to south; and the posts in each line were at short distances from one another, the intervals being between 1' 6" and 3' 6". Against the inner face of the posts, stout beams were laid water-tight one above another to a height of about 5", to form walls of the drain, which was roofed over with long beams, 8" in thickness. This roof and the walls were supported from inside with an inner framework of other posts and cross beams. On the east side of the drain, and 2 feet distant from it, was exposed an octagonal pillar, of which each face was 9½" or 10" in breadth. This octagonal pillar, of which the upper core appeared to be turned into earth, stands on a thick plank of wood, about one foot in thickness and four feet in breadth. It extended eastward, how far I could not determine, for it was positively risky to drive a tunnel here. Just west of the octagonal pillar is one of the posts of the outer framework; the interval being only 6" at the bottom and 1' above the plane of the roof of the drain. These smaller posts, which were 6" x 7" in section, show holes 4" x 7", and east to west, with remains of planks, which proves that there was a wooden wall above the drain. On the northern end of the drain and above it, I traced another wooden wall, which ran at right angle to the lower ones, that is to say, east to west; this wall was limited by the two lower ones of the drain. At the southern end also of the roof, I traced a third cross wall, which was very much in ruins. On the west of the drain, I saw other woods spread southward as shown in plan. This most interesting of the ancient monuments at Pataliputra was not properly examined, for rains commenced shortly after and prevented me from further digging.

On the south of Lohanipur and the railway are the remains of a long wall, called *Chardewari*, which extended a long way east to west, and parallel to the latter. This wall might be the remains of the ancient fort, which the villagers here still remember as the Raja's gurb. On the south, of the level crossing and on the western ditch of the road going south from the railway gate, I heard of some wooden remains below the ground, which I shall try to open and examine when the next sanction arrives.

The mound at Naoratanpur, on the north, east and west sides of which are very low and marshy fields, indicative of an ancient channel, looked promising at the first sight; and I commenced digging in January 1897. (See Plates XXXVI and XXXVII for plan and sections.) By the end of next month a large oval-planned structure was traced at only a foot or two below the surface. Its inner diameter was 50 feet, while the breadth was 19', the outer ones being respectively 60' x 27' 6". The thickness of the wall, which showed batter, was 4' 6", and the depth about 5' 6". Along the longer diameter was a wall, which divided the oval into two equal portions, and which were again subdivided into ten compartments by four cross walls. The central long wall traversed northward and southward beyond the aspes to about 7 feet to meet two cross walls, each 4 feet 6 inches in width, which extend east to west, being limited on the west by a wall about 5 feet broad. The outward plan is thus a rectangle, of which the eastern wall I could not trace. On the eastern side, however, I brought to light some rooms and passages; and on the west of the oval there are five cross walls to partition the outer enclosed space into seven rooms. This edifice appears to be very peculiar and interesting; and its importance will be evident to the students of Fergusson's "Indian and Eastern Architecture," in which the author, in discussing the forms of the Carle and similar caves, could not trace their origin. The structural temple, which he mentions in Southern India as originating the oval form, cannot be assumed as such on maturer consideration. Now remembering the fact that Asoka the Great, in making the Buddhistic faith as that of the State, covered the whole of India with religious monuments, this Naoratanpur temple might have most probably supplied the oval idea as the most elegant plan for the caves of Central and Western India. About 200 feet south of the existing temple are two stone architraves buried in the soil, and on the north of the village of Pukowli, and east of Naoratanpur, two semicircular stones were discovered under the fields.

The last mound, where I dug in January 1897, was the Jamuna Dhib, which is on the west of the Bankipore station and on the south of the ancient bed of the Son, now remembered by the people as Mar-Son. I dug in the centre and on the north-eastern side, bringing to light some walls, which I at once followed up towards the west and the north. (Plate XXXVIII for general plan.) Not only the remains of several rooms, but a great number of large jars were exposed, about 6 feet below the surface. Some terracotta playthings, I got here, consisted of human figures, horses, and other articles. Innumerable vessels, mostly broken, were also found, some showing graceful forms. As to stone relics, several fragments of stools and pestles (*siltorhas*), worshipped by the ignorant people as Goreya Devi, a defaced pedestal of a statue and a half circular slab, which shows some peculiar ornaments, and the back of which is rounded, were brought to light. On the north-east corner of the mound is an elevated spot dedicated to Goreya Devi, which consists of a large number of old stones. Among these is a statue of Gouri-shankar, rather defaced, which shows the goddess seated on the lap of her husband in the style commonly seen in ancient sites. Here I secured the figure of a Devi, about 3 inches in height, seated on a lion, and holding in her right hand a lotus and in her left a vessel. These relics show that there was a temple here, which, however, I could not trace. I also obtained from the debris of rubble which I threw up from the pits I dug, some metallic relics, chiefly copper, consisting of some coins, *madhusahi* and square pieces, a few diminutive sticks, called *selai*, to apply *surma* (black-dye) to the eyes, and a knife in iron, old rusty with age.

Jamuna Dhih, which is crossed by the Diga ghát line, appears to be the site of a village that at first had mud huts, which accounts for the raised level of the spot, when subsequently the villagers, chiefly *gacalas* (milkmen) and potters, becoming richer during the Maurya period, built brick and tiled houses. The style of the sculpture, large bricks, and the great number of *Nanda* and vessels, lead to no other conclusion.

I had not an opportunity or means to dig at Dargah Arzani, Pahari, and the several high spots between Bankipore and the east of Patna. The Dargah where the greatest number of stone relics have been recovered, is undoubtedly one of the most promising fields; and I have the strongest evidence to look for, at the long and elevated tract of Pahari, some of the most important monuments, mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims.

CHAPTER IV.—SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

THE results of my excavations on the sites of ancient Pataliputra may be grouped into

Finds grouped into three.

(1) architecture, (2) sculpture, and (3) coins and minor arts. They, especially architecture, show two periods of workmanship, ancient and medieval. By "ancient" I mean the time from Buddha to the end of the Maurya dynasty; and "medieval" from the commencement of the Sunga dynasty to about 400 A.D., when the Guptas transferred their seat of government either to Ajodhya or to Kanauj, and Pataliputra began rapidly to decay. The two periods can be easily distinguished by the styles of construction and materials. Besides, the remains of the ancient period are found at a greater depth under-ground than those of the medieval.

The building materials of the earlier times consisted of wood, stones and bricks of the larger size than those of a later epoch. The wood, chiefly

Building materials.

Sál wood.

sál (*shorea robusta*), was procurable in great abundance in those days; for large forests extended northward from Vaisali, as the last journey of the Buddha from Vaisali to Kusinagara proves, as recorded in the *Maha-Pari-nirvana-sutra*. Rough logs of wood were brought by boats of large size down the Gandak and the Saraju. The rough blocks were cut here according to requirements, and employed in door-frames, posts of verandahs, and as beams in ceilings, as also in palisade walls and under-ground drains. That the wooden posts and beams employed in residential buildings were highly carved and ornamented, will be evident to one who studies indigenous architecture in modern towns where foreign influence has not yet penetrated.

Like the woods, the stones were also brought down here from the hills of Barabar and Kowá-dol in a rough-hewn state; and here they were cut and

Stones.

dressed according to the requirements of each edifice. The carved capital, as also a rough-hewn one of similar size, evidently intended as its sister, and found at Bulandibagh, lead to no other conclusion. Besides, at Lohanipur, I brought out from the bowels of the earth innumerable chips of stone, which proved that here was at least one workshop of the ancient sculptors. The six huge pillars of the style generally associated with the name of Asoka the Great, and which I have been able to trace on the different sites, must have been brought here in a rough-hewn state; for had they been carried in an inscribed and polished state, the rough usage to which they must have been subjected on the way would have damaged the smooth surface in the round.

The bricks were manufactured here; for which purpose good earth was selected, kneaded well, and moulded into the size of about 1 foot 6 inches long,

Bricks.

1 foot broad, and 3 inches thick. I cannot, however, say positively that thinner bricks, undoubtedly the productions of the later period, were not manufactured now. Larger bricks were also occasionally formed, over 2 feet in length and 6 inches in thickness; for I found a fragment of very large proportions from the stratum of the *Son gháts*. Besides, I have found several specimens of a peculiar form, being semi-cylindrical, 1 foot 6 inches in length and about 7 inches in radius, which, as Mr. Glass, late Secretary, Public Works Department, suggested, might have served as copings to walls. Some of these semi-cylindrical bricks are lesser in thickness and breadth than the others,—being less in radius but greater in breadth. There was also found a curve brick. Apparently of the most ancient style, these bricks have grown beautifully rose red with age, and prove that the art of preparing bricks was well understood in those days.

This fact is better understood when the carved bricks, of which I have got several beautiful specimens, are seen; they show a high degree of skill and knowledge displayed by the brick-makers and potters of the Maurya period, when the Yashkas, the so-called genii of the Chinese pilgrims, were employed as masons and sculptors.

These carved bricks served as ornamented facings to walls. (Plate XXXIX.) One specimen, which I have got in my collection, appears to be

Carved bricks.

a capital of a wall-pilaster, being circular in design, with leaves, bands and square holes, arranged diagonally to give better relief to each of the details. Another fragment exhibits the lower portion of a bas-relief, wherein the legs and lower garments of men are plainly visible. A third fragment shows another circular capital that crowned the pilaster of a temple or *vihara* wall; it is rather plainer in details. Some of the brick relics show fret-work and holes, while others have one of their edges formed into ovolo. One face of a few bricks show scroll work, as that from Bhiknapahari.

The remains of the wooden palisades and drains that I was able to find out about 20 feet below the present level of the ground, exhibit some peculiarity of construction. Thick blocks, between 3 and

Wooden palisades and drains.

4 feet in breadth, were spread at a certain level, on which stout posts were fixed in holes in four parallel lines to form the inner and outer framework to support the walls, floor and roof of the drain. Above the roof and at right-angles to the drain, the outer posts supported walls of thick planks to form the superstructure of the palisade. The palisade itself was, I think, constructed of two lines of plank walls, about 5 feet 6 inches apart from each other, the intervening space being filled with earth. The superstructure being thus raised to a height of 30 feet or so, the inner wooden wall was made flush with the top of the raised earth, to form the passage for the archers to move rapidly under cover of the outer flank wall, which was further raised to a height of about 5 feet and was loop-holed for the discharge of arrows. This fortification wall was again strengthened by a ditch, about 600 feet wide and 30 feet deep, where the Son used to flow.

The remains of ancient buildings here show that local architecture of the two periods, ancient and medieval, embraced a variety of subjects, which may be conveniently grouped into (a) palatial and domestic, (b) ecclesiastical, and (c) monumental.

Of the palaces that we read of in ancient records, I have not yet been able to trace any actual remains. But an idea can easily be formed of an ancient palace from what remains in modern times,

Palaces.

as consisting of several courts, of which the out-houses were done in tiles, wood, and humbler walls of bricks; while the royal portion had the usual Singhadwara (lion-gate) and subsidiary ones. The walls were made of stones in the lower, and bricks in the higher, portions with bastions in the corners and at intermediate distances. Some of the courts were several storeys in height, being relieved with turrets and towers and balconies. The whole palace was protected by a citadel of wooden palisade and ditches, adjoining the Ganges and occupying the most prominent quarter of the city.

Of the out-houses of the Nili palace, where Asoka was believed to have been born, I succeeded, I think, in exposing a part on the south and west of the village of Kumrahar. Here one wall 7 feet 6 inches in thickness was found extending east to west, and having cross-walls to form rooms of rather smaller dimensions, which were communicated through narrow passages, only about 3 feet in width. Among these, steps were exposed here and there, between 6 and 10 feet below the present level of the ground. These ancient walls had also a good deal of batter, in order probably to strengthen the superstructure.

The remains of domestic architecture, which I traced at several places, and which were mostly of the medieval period, showed thinner walls and smaller rooms,—so small indeed as to seem no better

Domestic architecture.

than mere cells, as those of the Kallu Talao. The walls were made of single bricks, laid lengthwise in mud. The forms of the ancient houses might be understood from the bas-reliefs on the Buddhist railings, and from the huts of ancient villages, such as Basarh. The walls were made either of brick or of earth, about one foot in thickness. The floor was also either pukka or kutcha, the pukka being made of surki, khoa and lime, of which several remains I have been able to trace here. The windows were small in size and placed too high, under the cover of the projecting gable roof, which was supported by wooden brackets, plain or ornamented, according to means of the owner. The gable roof was thatched or tiled. The tiles of those days were quite different from those now in use, being flat, not round, and having each a hole on one side to receive the snout-like point of the one below it. Some of

the houses having gable and tiled roof, were two-storied, in which the lower roof was of course made flat for the tenants to live on. Sometimes wooden balconies projected from the lower roof in front of the house and towards the courtyard. The gable roof had steeples of terra-cotta vessels, done in graceful forms at the ends and at short intervals. A rough sketch herein shown will better convey an idea of the ancient type of domestic architecture, which will explain the bas-relief found in the Buddhist railings at Bodhi-Gaya, Sanchi, Bharat and other places.

The ecclesiastical branch of ancient architecture consisted of Saugharamas (monasteries), Viharas, Chaityas and Stupas. The Vihara appears to be

Ecclesiastical architecture.

a chapel, enshrining some Buddhist statues; while the stupas were cremation mounds of hemispherical form, in which relics and ashes (*sariras*) of the Buddha and other saints were buried in small chambers. But the term *chaitya** is rather indefinite for though in Tibet *choulten*, means a stupa, it appears to have been employed in quite a different sense in Buddhist and Jaina literatures. The *chaitya* at Pataligama, where the Buddha halted, seems to be a *dharma-sala*, while the *chaityas* of Vaisali, admired by him, were undoubtedly no other than temples. In Sanscrit, *chaitya*

* Originally derived from *Sanscrit Chidā*, which means cremation-pile.

means temple; so that no difference is found between *vihara* and *chaitya*. The Buddha pāda here was enshrined in a vihara; the Mahāvāna in Vaisali had the Kutāgāra Vihara and the Mahabodhi temple at Bodh-Gaya is known as a Vihara.

The Sangharamas, literally the park of the church, were extensive buildings for the Buddhist monks to live in, generally outside the city and in a shady garden. Hiuen Tsiang describes the Sangharamas of old as built with extraordinary skill. "A three-storied tower is erected at each of the four angles. The beams and projecting heads are carved with great skill in different shapes. The doors, windows and the low walls are painted profusely; the monks' cells are painted inside and plain on the outside. In the very middle of the building is the hall, high and wide; there are various storied chambers and turrets of different height and shape without any fixed rule. The doors open towards the east; the royal throne also faces towards the east." (Beal's *Siyu-ki*, Volume I, page 74.) Of these monastic establishments, the Chinese pilgrims mention five in Pataliputra, namely, the Mahayana, Hinayana, Kukkuta, and those of Upagupta and Mahendra. The Burmese records (Bigandet's *Gaudama*) mention the convent of Varana, where Nigrodha, the nephew and the first Buddhist teacher of Asoka the Great lived. Besides, there were ruins of several others, not particularly named by Hiuen Tsiang. The Kukkutārāma was somewhere east of Patna, while the Mahayāna and the Hinayāna were, I think, at the two Pāhādies. I have not yet been able to explore them, nor the hill of Mahendra, which I propose to identify with the Dargah Arzani.

Of the class of the ecclesiastical buildings, called Vihara, only one was known to Hiuen Tsiang as enshrining the footprint of the Buddha. It was most probably near the great mound of the Bari Pahari, which I propose to identify as the Great Stupa, first erected by Asoka. This stupa, as also that of the four past Buddhas, were excavated before I was deputed here. Only solid brickwork was cut through a depth of 40 feet or so, which almost destroyed them. Of the five stupas last erected by Asoka, which I propose to identify with the mounds of Laskari Bibi and Jogipura, I could not trace any remains of stone or brickwork of any importance. Only a carved architrave was found near the mound of Jogipura.

The colossal pillars of the Maurya period preeminently comes under the class of monumental architecture. I have been able to trace six of them at Pataliputra, namely, the Jambudwipa, the Nili, and the "hell," mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. I found two others at Lohanipur, and heard of the sixth at Sadargali, Patna. I brought to light innumerable fragments of the "hell" pillar on the north of Kumrahar, and of the pillar of the Nili Palace. I suspect I got a few fragments of the latter on the west and south of the village, where tradition locates Nanda's palace. At Lohanipur I succeeded in exhuming a large capital along with several fragments 12 feet below the present level of the ground. (Plate XXXIV). Here also I found the base of another pillar of the Asoka style, but rather smaller in proportion. It is a circular stone, of which the diameter, 2 feet 10½ inches, decreased in five steps to 2 feet 3 inches as it rose to a length of 1 foot 9 inches, and on the top of which is a circular hole about 7 feet deep, to receive the copper tenon of the shaft. The Sadargali pillar I have not yet been able to excavate or examine. These six pillars at one place show that Pataliputra had a large share of the attention of the imperial architect.

The ghāts and wells were a special class of ancient architecture, which served the utilitarian purposes of the citizens. The existence of such a large well as Agam Kuan, of which the diameter is about 20 feet, proves that others were constructed of like, if not greater, dimensions. The double well or reservoir, which I excavated on the south of Kumrahar, shows a peculiarity which I have not seen elsewhere. The series of Son ghāts, which I traced for a length of a thousand feet, is the most interesting of its kind, as proving not only the fact of the flowing of the river in the channel of the great and wide ditch of the city, but a very important feature of peculiarity of construction I have not seen in other parts of India. The steps are small but pretty, done in both horizontal and vertical layers of bricks, and limited and strengthened by cross-walls, deep in the sandy bed; while three longitudinal walls, one rising over the other at short distances, connect them in a series.

Four kinds of the so-called Buddhist railings have been found here—one at Lohanipur, the second at the Dargah Arzani, the third at Kumrahar, and the fourth on the south-west of the Sevai tank. (Plates XL, XLI, XLII, XLIII). The first is of very plain style, fixed in a pucca terrace, and having posts and horizontal bars without any ornament. I traced it *in situ*, of which the height was about 3 feet 6 inches. The second railing, found at Dargah Arzani, had stouter posts, which were carved on the front face with half circles at top and bottom, and a full boss in the middle, while the edges between them were bevelled. The central boss shows some carvings of tiger and other animals. The horizontal bars, which were fixed to the posts, were not segmental in section, as is generally seen in these railings, but rectangular, being two in number, not three, as generally is the case. These two bars, rectangular in section, were fixed, not in the centre of the side faces, but very closer to the carved front, a peculiarity which I have not seen elsewhere. This fact shows that the Dargah railing was attached to a brick wall of either a room

or a stupa, half the posts being embedded in the masonry work, as shown in the sketch. The third railing, of which two posts and two fragments of the horizontal bars were discovered and secured by me at Kumrahar, is the most ornate of the four. The posts possess the usual subdivisions of the two semi-circles, at the top and bottom, which are relieved with lotus flowers, and in the middle the circular boss, while at the sides were the three parallel bars, segmental in section, of which the centre had each a boss, relieved with figures. The central boss of the two posts has reliefs in circular combination, one being a group of standing husband and wife, the latter horse-faced (*kinnari*), and having a child in her lap. The other group is a seated gentlemen, rather corpulent, clasping two children at his sides. A fragment of a coping-stone, most probably belonging to this railing, has also been found

here; it shows two trees of the conventional type, three standing men and three birds. There are on the under surface two holes, about two feet from each other, to let in the tenon of the posts underneath. These railings are generally called Buddhistic, since the time when Fergusson gave that name to them; but in my studies throughout India, I have not yet found special reason to say that they were exclusively Buddhistic and not generally Hindu.

The relics of ancient sculpture, both Brahmanical and Buddhistic, are several, being generally collected and worshipped near the modern temples of Patna and Bankipore. (Plates LIII, LIV, LV). The

Ancient sculpture.

Brahmanical statues consists of Surya (sun-god), Gourisankar, Vishnu, Parvati, Ganesa, &c. The Buddhistic figures, which are not so many as the Brahmanical ones, are the votive stupas, Buddhas, Padmapanies, Tara and Mayadevis. One pretty Langa, having four faces on its four sides, and a large Surya, split across in the middle, with other relics, are in the temple of Chhoti Patani Devi. Near the temple, in the compound of the civil court and under a tree, are two votive stones, carved in the model of a temple, of which each side contains a figure.

The winged lions, of which I have found three, shows the most ancient style of sculpture, generally associated with the Maurya period, (Plate XLII.) The double Maya Devi, now worshipped as *Durukhia* Devi at Nawatola, and found some 20 years ago on the west side of the village of Kumrahar, must have belonged to the same period, the pose being very graceful and the details showing interesting features of the indigenous art. (Plate L.) But the most important relics of the ancient sculpture are now in the Calcutta Museum, where they were removed at the end of the last century. (Plate IL.) They appear to be two Yashka guards, about 6 feet in height and done in the highest spirit of the Indian art, the swell and contouring of the muscles and the folds of their dress being very well shown. They are inscribed with names in the ancient Pali characters, as Yakhe Sanatananda and Achusatigika, or something like them. They were found outside the city of Patna.

At the Dargah Arzani were found several relics of ancient sculpture, of which a tall votive stupa, showing railings below and vestiges of bas-relief on the four lower faces, is the most interesting. (Plate XLIV.) Here were also found, imbedded in the walls, two figures, one a goddess and the other a male standing figure, which appeared to be of the early Gupta period. (Plates LI, LII.) Here also is an elaborately ornamented pillar, of which the top and bottom are square in section, and octagonal and sixteen-sided in the intervening spaces of the shaft, which the Mahammadans utilized as a head-stone or rather lamp-post to a dog's grave on a mound which was hollowed out in the middle for the lamp to be put in. (Plate XLVI.) It has some inscriptions in shell character on two faces, (see Plate XLVI for an impression.)

Ancient pottery is represented here by several kinds of specimens. (Plate LVI.) The

Pottery.

carved bricks have been mentioned already. The vases and vessels, found in the excavations, display graceful forms of different shapes, which are now forgotten by modern *kumhars* (potters). One peculiar vessel, shaped like a bell, has several concentric rings at the bottom, and the intervening spaces are ornamented with scrolls. One jar, octagonal in plan and peculiar of its kind, was found at Kumrahar. Some other vessels show ornamental details. Of terracotta figures, I have exhumed from the bowels of the earth horses and other playthings, and some dolls, having dress and ornaments peculiar to the age.

Though the number of ancient coins found in my excavations is not very large, still

Coins.

they show a variety of style and are valuable as regards the history of the city. (Plate LVII.) They range from the punch-marked to that of the Gupta. The size of the punch-marked coins, which were mostly found in the excavations at Lohanipur, is generally rectangular, one being very large and almost square. The symbols in them are the wheel, cross, and many indecipherable signs. The tree and elephant type are rather large and circular in size, having a rude elephant on one side and a tree (*bodhidruma*) on the reverse, with other subsidiary signs around. The Chaitya and elephant class is smaller and square, having the sign of a so-called Chaitya on one face and an elephant on the other. Of the two Gupta coins, one, found at Kumrahar, is of the bust type, having more than the upper half of the figure of Chandra Gupta II, and on the reverse a peacock, underneath which was the legend, now defaced with age. The other Gupta coin belongs to the same king, showing only the head, and being smaller in size. All these coins are of copper: only one punch-marked was found silvered over. A Chinese coin was also discovered along with two punch-marked coins at Bulandibagh; it is circular in shape, having a circular hole in the centre.

Beads.—I have found in my excavations a number of ancient beads, many of which are very interesting as showing variegated colours and forms. Some are round, some oval, and a few cylindrical.

A very few of them possess a swelling in the middle of one of the longer sides. Many of them have holes to pass strings through. In one large but broken bead a portion of a copper wire is still sticking. The beautiful blending and contrasts of the colours are particularly noted by those who see them.

The specimens of iron-work in nails and axes (*kodali* and *kudri*) show that the forms now used are not much different from those of ancient types. (Plate LVIII.) The large nails are exactly of the shape now in use. One spear-head that I have got in my collection is too much worn to show precisely its original shape; it is a long piece, having a knob or swelling at its lower end. I have another piece branching into two prongs at one end.

In the excavation on the eastern ditch of Bahadurpur, and while exposing the wooden remains, a peculiar ornament, most probably belonging to a female ear, was brought to light. It was gilded with golden leaves. (Plate LVI.) The details are pretty; at one end of the cylindrical form is a knob in the centre, which is surrounded by what appear to be petals of a lotus flower projecting at the edges. The cylindrical sides are narrow in the middle, relieved with guilloche and wavy grounds; while the other end is rather plain and narrow to insert the ornament into the hole of the ear. The composition of the ornament is not clearly understood, being an unknown combination of some kind of plaster. I have also got some copper rings* and sticks (*setai*) to apply black dye (*surma*) to eyes, and other pieces of ornaments. (Plate LVII.)

* The rings were evidently intended for seals, as there is a segmental space on the top, thus :—

That the artisans of the Maurya period attained a high degree of skill is proved by their workmanship in crystals, in which they delicately fashioned beads, vessels, and ornaments. In other materials also, such as the spotted gravels

from the beds of hilly streams, as also in glass, artistic articles were manufactured. A little but pretty rat in stone was found in the excavations for palisade at Lohanipur. Another ornament, probably of ear, was also discovered here. A large circular piece about 2 inches in diameter in blackish glass, of which the edge is cut in caveto, as also a piece of bangle in spotted stone were also found in the pit where the Maurya pillar was detected.

Judging my collection of ancient relics as a whole, it will be seen that the results of archaeological researches and excavations have proved eminently successful. Though I have not yet been successful in discovering any inscriptions, I doubt not that further explorations will bring to light many relics of the lapidary records. Pataliputra existed between 20 and 15 feet below our feet, and the remains of this greatest city of the Mauryan Empire are all below intact—wood, iron, stone, bricks, jewels, and coins,—all being faithfully conserved by mother earth, till an excavator like me will bring them to light, to the surprise of the learned and the orientalists.

Conclusion, and promising sites recommended for further excavations.

From what I have detailed in the foregoing chapters, I beg to point out that the two Paharies are the most promising sites for excavations, for here I hope to find an inscribed pillar, the Buddhapada-Vihara, and the two monasteries, besides the railings of the two stupas already identified by me.

Kumrahar and its neighbourhood need also to be further explored for the Nilai or Nili palace and another inscribed pillar. The Son ghâts should also be traced beyond the length I did last year.

Bahadurpur and Rampur will next demand the attention of the archaeological excavator in order to examine further the extensive wooden remains discovered by Mr. Mills and myself.

But Lohanipur is the most important place, for the wooden palisade, the Asoka pillar, and the railings, point out what a mine of archaeological wealth lies buried here.

Bhiknapahari should not be lost sight of for the very interesting vestiges of architectural structures showed the nature and value of what is to be sought for.

The Dargah Arzani, which has yielded the greatest number of stone relics, appears to be a not less promising site, and I doubt not that important remains will be unearthed no sooner the spade is employed in judicious and available spaces of the extensive graveyard.

The beam-palisade of Palibothra, well known in Grecian accounts, requires also to be followed up. Though I have roughly defined the limit of the city and traced the palisade from Lohanipur *via* Bahadurpur, Sandalpur, and Sevai tank to Mangal Talao, still more definite and exact plotting needs be determined.

In the Patna city and in the Sadar gali, the Asoka pillar, that I heard of, should be opened and examined by all means, while the killa, most probably the site of the Maurya city palace, should be exposed.

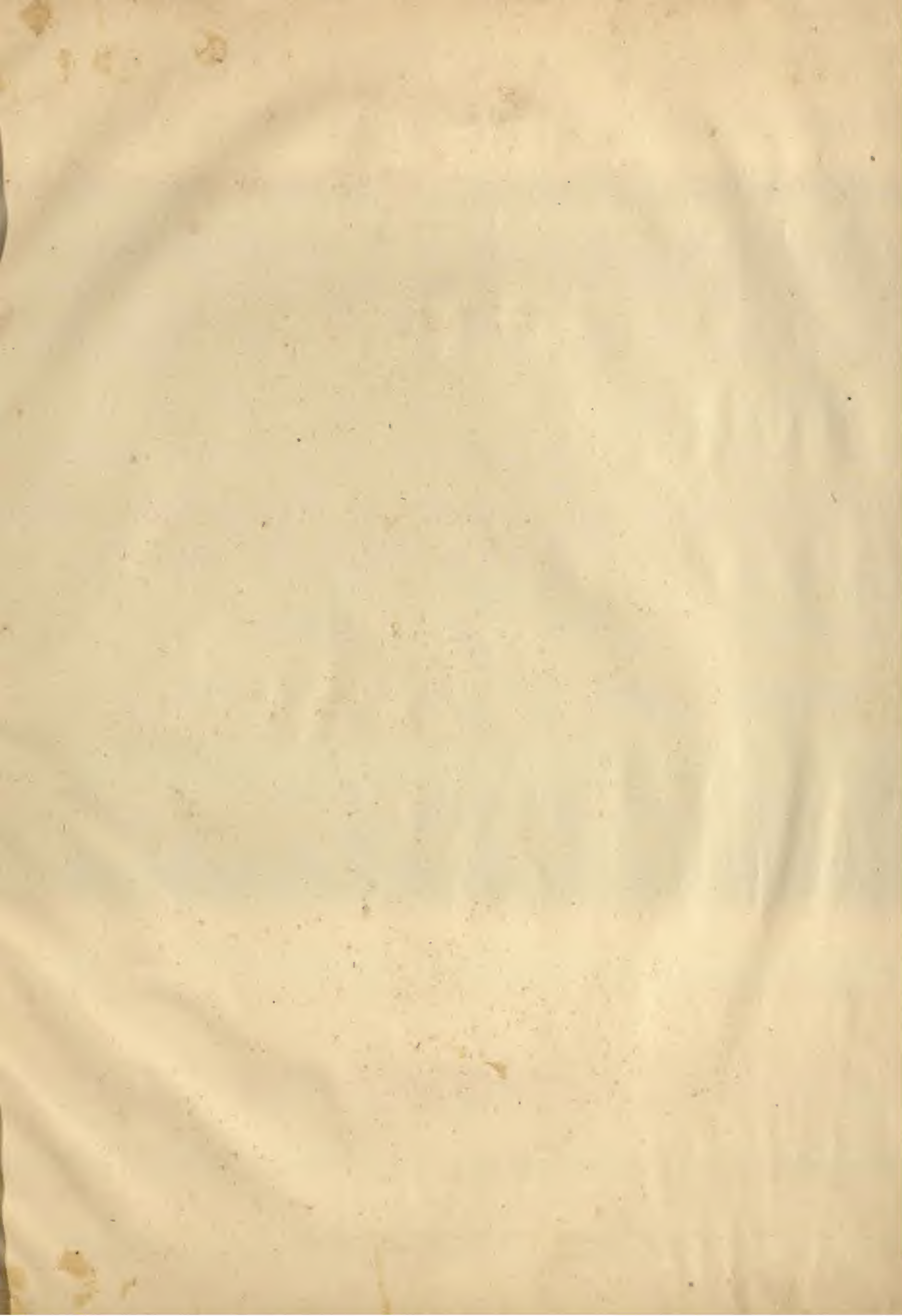
And the last, but not the least of the ancient monuments is the Kukkutārama monastery, where the third Buddhist council was held in 308 (B.C.), should be sought for on the south-east of Patna.

These important sites will convey an idea of the extent of explorations required for the proper understanding of what was the nature of the great capital of the Mauryan Empire and the position it occupied in the history of ancient India. All these works cannot be done in one year, considering the limited sum sanctioned for them.

P. C. MUKHERJI,
Archæologist.

BANKIPORE,
The 14th March 1898.

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